BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH FROM CATON HILL

Scotland, vol. one.

World's Best Histories

SCOTLAND

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER OF RECENT EVENTS

BY MAYO W. HAZELTINE

With Frontispiece

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

NEW YORK AND LONDON

THE CO-OPERATIVE PUBLICATION SOCIETY

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

ADVERTISEMENT

THE Author was invited to undertake this general Sketch of Scottish History in connection with a similar abridgment of English History by Sir James Mackintosh, and a History of Ireland by Thomas Moore, Esquire. There are few literary persons who would not have been willing to incur much labor and risk of reputation for the privilege of publishing in such society. On the present occasion, the task, though perhaps still a rash one, was rendered more easy by the Author having so lately been employed on the volumes called Tales of a Grandfather, transferred from the History of Scotland, for the benefit of a young relation. Yet the object and tenor of these two works are extremely different. In the Tales taken from Scottish history, the author, throwing into the shade, or rather omitting all that could embarrass the understanding or tire the attention of his juvenile reader, was desirous only to lay before him what was best adapted to interest his imagination, and, confining himself to facts, to postpone to a later period an investigation of the principles out of which those facts arose.

It is hoped, on the contrary, that the present history may, in some degree, supply to the reader of more advanced age truths with which he ought to be acquainted, not merely as relating to one small kingdom, but as form-

ing a chapter in the general history of man. The object of the two works being so different, their contents, though drawn from the same sources, will be found so distinct from each other, that the young student, as his appetite for knowledge increases, may peruse with advantage this graver publication, after being familiar with that designed for an earlier age; and the adult, familiar with the general facts of Scottish history, as far as conveyed in these volumes, may yet find pleasure in reading those Tales which contain its more light and fanciful details.

Abbotsford,
November 1, 1829.

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

CHAPTER I

The Early History of Scotland—Caledonians, Picts, and Scots—Kenneth Macalpine

THE history of Scotland, though that of a country too poor and too thinly peopled to rank among the higher powers of Europe, has, nevertheless, attracted the attention of the world, even in preference to the chronicles of more powerful and opulent states. This may be justly ascribed to the extreme valor and firmness with which in ancient times the inhabitants defended their independence against the most formidable odds, as well as to the relation which its events bear to the history of England, of which kingdom, having been long the hereditary and inveterate foe, North Britain is now become an integral and inseparable part by the treaty of union.

Our limits oblige us to treat this interesting subject more concisely than we could wish; and we are of course under the necessity of rejecting many details which engage the attention and fascinate the imagination. We will endeavor, notwithstanding, to leave nothing untold which may be necessary to trace a clear idea of the general course of events.

The history of every modern European nation must commence with the decay of the Roman empire. From the dissolution of that immense leviathan almost innumerable states took their rise, as the decay of animal matter only changes the form, without diminishing the sum, of animal life. The ambition of that extraordinary people was to stretch the authority of Rome, whether under the republic or empire, over the whole world; and even while their own constitution

struggled under the influence of a rapid decline, the rage with which they labored to reduce to their yoke those who yet remained unconquered of their unhappy neighbors was manifested on the most distant points of their enormous territory.

Julius Cæsar had commenced the conquest of Britain, whose insular situation, girdled by a tempestuous ocean, was no protection against Roman ambition. It was in the year B.C. 55 that the renowned conqueror made his descent; and the southern Britons were completely subjected to the yoke of Rome, and reduced to the condition of colonists, in the year of grace 80, by the victorious arms of Agricola.

This intelligent chief discovered, what had been before suspected, that the fine country, the southern part of which he had thus conquered, was an island, whose northern extremity, rough with mountains, woods, and inaccessible morasses, and peopled by tribes of barbarians who chiefly subsisted by the chase, was washed by the northern ocean. To hear of a free people in his neighborhood, and to take steps for their instant subjugation, was the principle on which every Roman general acted; and it was powerfully felt by Julius Agricola, father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, who at this time commanded in South Britain. But many a fair and fertile region, of much more considerable extent, had the victors of the world subdued with far more speed and less loss than this rugged portion of the north was to cost them.

It was in the year 80 when Agricola set out from Manchester, then called Mancunium; and that and the next season of 81 were spent in subduing the tribes of the southern parts of what is now termed Scotland, and in forcing such natives as resisted across the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde, driving them, as it were, into another island. It was not till 83 that the invaders could venture across the Firth of Forth, and engage themselves among the marshes, lakes, and forests near Lochleven. Here Agricola, having divided his troops into three bodies, one of them, consisting of the

ninth legion, was so suddenly attacked by the natives at a place called Loch Ore, that the Romans suffered much loss, and were only rescued by a forced march of Agricola to their support. In the summer of 84, Agricola passed northward, having now reached the country of the Caledonians, or Men of the Woods, a fierce nation, or rather a confederacy of clans, toward whose country all such southern tribes and individuals as preferred death to servitude had retired before the progress of the invaders. The Caledonians and their allies, commanded by a chief whom the Romans called Galgacus, faced the invaders bravely, and fought them manfully at a spot on the southern side of the Grampian hills, but antiquaries are not agreed upon the precise field of action. The Romans gained the battle, but with so much loss that Agricola was compelled to postpone further operations by land, and he retreated to make sure of the territories he had overrun. The fleet sailed round the north of Scotland, and Agricola's campaigns terminated with this voyage of discovery. There was no prosecution of the war against the Caledonians after the departure of Agricola in 85. Much was, however, done for securing at least the southern part of that general's conquests; and it was then, doubtless, that were planned and executed those numerous forts, those extensive roads, those commanding stations, which astonish the antiquary to this day, when, reflecting how poor the country is even now, he considers how intense must have been the love of power, how excessive the national pride, which could induce the Romans to secure at an expense of so much labor these wild districts of mountain, moor, thicket, and marsh.

Nor, after all, were these conquests secured. The Emperor Adrian, in 120, was contented virtually to admit this fact, by constructing an external line of defence against the fierce Caledonians, in form of a strong wall, reaching across the island from the Tine to the Solway, far within the boundary of Agricola's conquest. It is at the same time to be supposed that the Romans of the second century retained in a

great measure the military possession of the country beyond this first wall, as far, perhaps, as the Firths of Clyde and Forth; while, on the further side of these estuaries, it seems probable they did not exercise a regular or permanent authority.

But in the reign of Antonine, another and more northern boundary wall was extended across the island, reaching from Carriden, close to Linlithgow on the Firth of Forth, to the Firth of Clyde. This ultimate bulwark served to protect the country betwixt the estuaries, while the regions beyond them were virtually resigned to their native and independent proprietors. Thus the Romans had two walls; the more northern, an exterior defence, assisted by military communications and defences, to receive a first attack; and the more southern, an internal boundary, to retreat upon, if necessary.

The existence of a double line of defence seems to argue that this powerful people did not hold any permanent possessions beyond the more northern boundary about the year 140, when the second and more advanced rampart was completed. No doubt, however, can be entertained, even if the fact were not proved by roads and military stations, that the Romans restrained and overawed, if they could not absolutely subject, the considerable provinces overrun by Agricola in Fife and the western districts beyond the wall of Antonine. Camelodunum, or Camelon, a large and strong town, was placed near Falkirk for the support of the wall at its eastern extremity, and many Roman forts are found so disposed as to block up the passes from the Highlands. The existence and position of military roads and forts or camps also shows the care taken by the Romans to maintain the necessary communications at various points betwixt the two walls, so that the troops stationed to guard them might act with combined movements.

Notwithstanding these martial precautions, the strength of the Roman empire failed to support her ambitious pretensions to sovereignty; and, A.D. 170, the Romans, abandon-

ing the more northern wall of Antonine, retired behind that erected under the auspices of the Emperor Adrian in 120. They doubtless retained possession of such forts and stations, of which there were many, as served the purpose of outworks to protect the southern rampart.

Under this enlargement of their territories, and awed by the Roman eagles, the Caledonians remained quiet till the beginning of the third century, when, in the year 207, open war again broke out betwixt them and the Romans. In 208 the Emperor Severus undertook in person the final conquest of the Caledonians. It would be difficult to assign a reason why, in the uncertain state of the empire, a prince equally politic and cautious, raised by his talents from the command of the Pannonian army to the lofty rank of emperor, should, at the advanced age of threescore, commit his person and a powerful host, the flower of his forces, to the risks of a distant contest with savage tribes, where victory, it might be thought, could achieve little honor, and defeat or failure must have been ruin to that reputation which constituted his recognized title to empire. Severus was, however, tortured in mind by the dissensions between his sons Geta and Caracalla, and hastened, with the precipitation of a soldier born and bred, to drown domestic vexation amid the din of war. A Scotsman may also argue that the subjugation of Caledonia was an object of no small difficulty and importance, since in such circumstances so wise a prince would intrust to no delegate the honor which might be won in the struggle, or the command of the powerful force necessary to obtain it.

The Roman emperor made his invasion of Caledonia at the head of a very numerous army. He cut down forests, made roads through marshes and over mountains, and endeavored to secure the districts which he overran. But the Caledonians, while they shunned a general action, carried on, with the best policy of a country assailed by a superior force, a destructive warfare on the flanks and rear of the invading army; and the labors of the Romans, with the fa-

tigues and privations to which they were exposed, wasted them so much that they are said by the historian Dion to have lost fifty thousand men, equal probably to more than half of their force. Severus, however, advanced as far as the Firth of Moray, and noticed a length of days and shortness of nights unknown in the southern latitudes. In this Boreal region the emperor made a peace, illusory on the part of the barbarians, who surrendered some arms, and promised submission. Severus returned from his distant and destructive excursion, borne as usual in his litter at the head of his army, and sharing their hardships and privations. He had no sooner reached York on his return, than he received information that the whole Caledonian tribes were again in arms. He issued orders for collecting his forces and invading the country anew, with the resolution to spare neither sex nor age, but totally to extirpate the natives of these wild regions, whose minds seemed as tameless as their climate or country. But death spared the emperor the guilt of so atrocious a campaign. Severus expired, February, 211. His son restored to the Caledonians the territories which his father had overrun rather than subdued; and the wall of Antonine, the more northern of the two ramparts, was once again tacitly recognized as the boundary of the Roman province, and limit of the empire.

From this time the war in Britain was on the part of the Romans merely defensive, while on that of the free Britons it became an incursive predatory course of hostilities, that was seldom intermitted. In this species of contest the colonized Britons, who had lost the art of fighting for themselves, were for some time defended by the swords of their conquerors. In 368, and again in 398, Roman succors were sent to Britain, and repressed successfully the fury of the barbarians. In 422 a legion was again sent to support the colonists; but, tired of the task of protecting them, the Romans, in 446, ostentatiously restored the Southern Britons to freedom, and exhorting them henceforth to look to their own defence, evacuated Britain forever. The boast that Scotland's more re-

mote regions were never conquered by the Romans is not a vain one; for the army of Severus invaded Caledonia, without subduing it, and even his extreme career stopped on the southern side of the Moray Firth, and left the northern and western Highlands unassailed.

In the fifth century there appear in North Britain two powerful and distinct tribes, who are not before named in history. These were the Picts and Scots.

I. The name of the former people has caused much, but seemingly unnecessary, speculation. The Picts seem to have been that race of free Britons beyond the Roman wall who retained the habit of staining the body when going into battle, and were called by the Romans and Roman colonists the Painted Men, a name which, at first applied to particular tribes, superseded at last the former national name of Caledonians. These people inhabited the eastern shores of Scotland, as far south as the Firth of Forth, and as far north as the island extended. Claudin proves that these natives actually followed the custom of painting their bodies, as implied by the expression *nec falso nomine Pictos*—"nor falsely termed the Picts." There can be little doubt that, though descendants of the ancient British Caledonians, and therefore Celts by origin, the Picts were mingled with settlers from the north, of Gothic name, descent, and language. The erratic habits of the Scandinavians render this highly probable.

II. The Scots, on the other hand, were of Irish origin; for, to the great confusion of ancient history, the inhabitants of Ireland, those at least of the conquering and predominating caste, were called Scots. A colony of these Irish Scots, distinguished by the name of Dalriads or Dalreudini, natives of Ulster, had early attempted a settlement on the coast of Argyleshire: they finally established themselves there under Fergus, the son of Eric, about the year 503, and, recruited by colonies from Ulster, continued to multiply and increase until they formed a nation which occupied the western side of Scotland, and came to border on a people with a name,

and perhaps a descent, similar to their own. These were the Attacotti, a nation inhabiting the northern part of Lanarkshire and the district called Lennox, which seems ultimately to have melted away into the Scots.

These two free nations of Picts and Scots, inhabiting, the former the eastern, the latter the western, shores of North Britain, appear to have resembled each other in manners and ferocity, and to have exercised the last quality without scruple on the Roman colonists. Both nations, like the Irish, converted their shaggy and matted hair into a species of natural head-dress, which served either for helmet or mask, as was deemed necessary. Their weapons were light javelins, swords of unwieldy length, and shields made of wickerwork or hides. Their houses were constructed of wattles, or in more dangerous times they burrowed under ground in long, narrow, tortuous excavations, which still exist, and the idea of which seems to have been suggested by a rabbit-warren. The Picts had some skill in constructing rude strongholds, surrounded by a rampart of loose stones. They had also some knowledge of agriculture. The Scots, who lived in a mountainous country, subsisted almost entirely on the produce of the chase, and that of their flocks and herds. Their worship might be termed that of demons, since the imaginary beings whom they adored were the personification of their own evil pursuits and passions. War was their sole pursuit, slaughter their chief delight; and it was no wonder they worshipped the imaginary god of battle with barbarous and inhuman rites.

Even over these wild people, inhabiting a country as savage as themselves, the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing under his wings. Good men, on whom the name of saint (while not used in a superstitious sense) was justly bestowed, to whom life and the pleasures of this world were as nothing, so they could call souls to Christianity, undertook and succeeded in the perilous task of enlightening these savages. Religion, though it did not at first change the manners of nations waxed old in barbarism, failed not to intro-

duce those institutions on which rest the dignity and happiness of social life. The law of marriage was established among them, and all the brutalizing evils of polygamy gave place to the consequences of a union which tends most directly to separate the human from the brute species. The abolition of idolatrous ceremonies took away many bloody and brutalizing practices; and the Gospel, like the grain of mustard-seed, grew and flourished in noiseless increase, insinuating into men's hearts the blessings inseparable from its influence.

Such were the nations to which the Britons whom Rome had colonized were exposed by the retreat of those who were at once their masters and protectors, and these two fierce races inhabited the greater part of the country now called Scotland.

The retreat of the Romans left the British provincialists totally defenceless. Their parting exhortation to them to stand to their own defence, and their affectation of having, by abandoning the island, restored them to freedom, were as cruel as it would be to dismiss a domesticated bird or animal to shift for itself, after having been from its birth fed and supplied by the hand of man. The Scots and Picts rushed against the Roman bulwark, when no longer defended by Romans; it was stormed from the land by the barbarians, or the barrier was surrounded by turning the extremities of it with naval expeditions. Persecuted in every quarter, and reduced to absolute despair, the provincial Britons called in the Saxons to their aid about two years after the Romans had left the island.

The Saxons were of Gothic descent, and to courage equal to that of the North Briton tribes they added better arms and a formidable discipline. They drove back both Scots and Picts within their own limits, and even made considerable additions of territory at their expense. Ida, one of those northern worshippers of Odin who erected the kingdoms of the heptarchy, landed in 547, and founded that of Northumberland. Subduing or bringing under voluntary obedi-

ence a part of the Picts who had formed settlements on the southern side of the Firth of Forth, this prince added for the time to an English sceptre the districts of lower Teviotdale and Berwickshire, as well as all the three Lothians, excepting some part of the western county so named.

Thus the country now called Scotland was divided between five nations, which we shall recapitulate. 1. The Irish Scots held all the mountainous district, now called Argyleshire, as far as the mouth of the Clyde. 2. The country called Clydesdale, with Peebleshire, Selkirkshire, and the upper parts of Roxburghshire, bordered on the south by Cumberland, forming what was anciently entitled the kingdom of Strath-Clyde, was inhabited by the descendants of the British colonists, who were hence called Britons. 3. Galloway, comprehending most part of Ayrshire, was inhabited by a mixed race, partly Scots settlers from Ireland of a different stock from that of the Dalriads or Irish Scots of Argyleshire, partly Picts who had acquired possessions among them. Hence the Galwegians are sometimes called the wild Scots of Galloway. 4. The most numerous people in Scotland, as thus subdivided, seem to have been the Picts. The successes of the Saxons had, indeed, driven them as a nation from Lothian, and their possession of Galwegia was, as just noticed, only partial. But they possessed Fife and Angus, Stirling, and Perthshire: more north of this they held all the northeastern counties, though in Moray, Caithness, and Sutherland, there were settlements of Scandinavians in a state of independence. 5. Lastly, the Saxons of Northumberland had extended their kingdom to the Firth of Forth: so that Ida, a Saxon, occupied the March, Teviotdale as high as Melrose, and the three Lothians, which afterward became and are now accounted integral parts of Scotland. The Saxons retained possession of these five provinces under several kings, and especially under Edwin, who founded near the shores of the Forth the castle called from his name Edwinsburgh, now Edinburgh, the capital of the Scottish kingdom; this was posterior to 617. In 685 a check

was given to the encroachment of the Saxons by the slaughter and defeat of their king Egfrid at the battle of Drumnechtan, probably Dunnichen; and the district south of the Forth was repeatedly the scene of severe battles between the Picts and Northumbrians, the latter striving to hold, the former to regain, these fertile provinces.

A much more important struggle than that between the Saxons and Picts was maintained between the latter nation and the Scoto-Irish inhabiting, as we have seen, the western, as the Picts held the eastern side of the island. It was, indeed, evident that until these two large portions of North Britain should be united under one government, the security of the country against foreign invaders was not to be relied on. After many desperate battles, much effusion of blood, and a merciless devastation of both countries, some measures seem to have been taken for settling a lasting peace between these contending nations. Urgaria, sister of Ungus, king of Picts, was married to Aycha IV., king of Scots, and their son Alpine, succeeding his father as king of Scots, flourished from 833 to 836, in which last year he was slain, urging some contests in Galloway. The Pictish throne, thus thrown open for want of an heir male, was claimed by Kenneth, son and successor of Alpine, who, as descended of Urgaria, the sister of Ungus, urged his right of inheritance with an army. Wrad, the last of the Pictish monarchs, died at Forteviot, in 842, fighting in defence of his capital and kingdom, and the Pictish people were subdued. Tradition and ancient history combine in representing Kenneth, when victorious, as extirpating the whole race of Picts, which we must consider as an exaggeration. More modern authors, shocked at the improbability of such an incident, have softened it down by supposing that, on the death of Wrad, Kenneth occupied the Pictish throne by inheritance, as lawful heir in right of his grandmother Urgaria. But it is a great bar to this modified opinion, that from the time of Kenneth Macalpine's victory over Wrad, no more is spoken in Scottish history of the Pictish people or the Pictish crown; while the king of Scots

and his nation engross the whole space, which before the subjugation was occupied by both nations. In a word, so complete must have been the revolution, that the very language of the Picts is lost, and what dialect they spoke is a subject of doubt to antiquarians. It was probably Celtic, with a strong tinge of Gothic.

CHAPTER II

Kenneth Macalpine: his Successors—Malcolm I. obtains possession of Cumberland: Successors of Malcolm—Kenneth III., and his Successors—Malcolm II.

WHEN Kenneth Macalpine joined in his person the crowns both of the Picts and Scots, he became an adversary fit to meet and match with the warlike Saxons. The country united under his sway was then called for the first time Scotland, which name it has ever since retained. He strove fiercely to carry his banner of the Dalriads into Lothian, of which he perhaps vindicated the sovereignty, as the contested country had been part of the territory of the Picts till wrested from them by Ida. It is besides recorded of Kenneth Macalpine that he was a legislator; which may be doubtless true, although the laws published as his are forgeries.

Kenneth might be justly termed the first king of Scotland, being the first who possessed such a territory as had title to be termed a kingdom, since it would be absurd to bestow the term of sovereigns upon the Scoto-Irish chiefs of Argyleshire, in whose obscure genealogy historians must, however, trace the original roots of the royal line.

Not to incur the charge of *lèze majesté*, however, brought by Sir George Mackenzie, the king's advocate of the day, against Dr. Stillingfleet, for abridging the royal pedigree by some links, we will briefly record that by the best authorities twenty-eight of these Dalriadic kings or chiefs reigned successively in Argyleshire, where the old tower of Dunstaffnage is said to have been their chief residence. Kenneth Macalpine was the twenty-ninth in descent from Fergus the son of Eric, the first of the race.

The descendants of this fortunate prince pass us in gloomy

and obscure pageantry, like those of Banquo on the theatre. In mentioning their names, we shall only take notice of such incidents in their several reigns as are necessary either to illustrate the future history of Scotland, or the manners of the period of which we treat. We shall thus avoid the disgusting task of recording obscure and ferocious contests, fought by leaders with unpronounceable names, from which the reader, to use the expression of Milton on a similar occasion, gains no more valuable information than if he were perusing the events of a war maintained between kites and crows.

In 859, Kenneth was succeeded by his brother Donald; for the mode of inheritance both in the Scottish and Pictish royal families was favorable to nepotical succession, and the brother of a deceased monarch was often called to the crown in preference to the son, in order, it may be supposed, to escape the inconvenience of frequent minorities. Of Donald there is nothing to be said, and of his nephew Constantine, son of Kenneth, very little. The latter died defending his territories against an invasion of the Danes, who were now the curse of the age; or, if tradition be believed, he was made prisoner while alive, and sacrificed in a cave on the seacoast in the parish of Crail, to the manes of the Danish leader, who had fallen in the fray. The successors of Constantine were Aodh, Eocha, and Grig, who reigned jointly; after them reigned a Donald, called the fourth; and a third Constantine. Of the four first it is only necessary to say, that their reigns displayed the same scenes of blood and slaughter, with the same unsatisfactory result, which disgust us in the annals of the period. Constantine the Third is only remarkable for having confederated with the sea-king Anlaf to invade England, and shared the defeat which the Norsemen received from Athelstane, at the great battle of Brunnanburgh. Escaped from the slaughter of that bloody day, in which he lost a gallant son, Constantine retired into a cloister, and became a chief of Culdees, in the fortieth year of his reign, 952.

Malcolm, the first of a name that is famous in Scottish annals, enlarged his territories by a valuable acquisition. We have not yet had occasion to mention that, opposite to the British kingdom of Strath-Clyde, there lay another kingdom of the same nation called Reged, also consisting of British tribes, and much renowned in the lays of their bards.

This separate state, consisting of Cumberland and Westmoreland, made a stout resistance to the foreigners; nor were the Saxon princes of the period ever able thoroughly to subdue them. Edmund the Elder, of England, wasted this little kingdom by way of punishing its insubordination; he put out the eyes of the five sons of Dunmail, its last British king, and bestowed the territory on Malcolm, king of Scots, on condition that he should become his ally, and assist him by sea and land in defence of his kingdom. Thus by a singular anomaly, while England was in possession of the Lothians, at present an indubitable part of Scotland, the king of Scots possessed Cumberland and Westmoreland, now an undisputed part of the territories of England.

Of the reigns of Indulf and Duff, princes who succeeded Malcolm, little is known. But the death of Culen, the third successor of Malcolm, proves the curious fact, that the Britons of Strath-Clyde were still independent. The violation of a British maiden of royal birth gave occasion to a war between them and the Scots. The Britons were victorious, and Culen fell in the year 970.

Kenneth III., son of Malcolm I., succeeded to the Scottish throne. He subjected to his sway the Britons of Strath-Clyde, and thus added materially to the strength of his kingdom. It appears, however, that Strath-Clyde was governed by separate though tributary princes for some time after it was joined to the realm of Scotland. In the reign of this prince the Danes entered the Firth of Tay with a large fleet. They were met by the Scottish king, and a decisive battle took place at Loncarty. The Danes fought with their accustomed fury, and compelled the two Scottish wings to retire

behind the centre, which, commanded by Kenneth in person, stood firm, and decided the fate of the day. Monumental stones, barrows filled with the relics and arms of those who fell, attest the truth of this battle, remembered yet for the obstinacy with which it was fought, notwithstanding which some historians have affected incredulity on the subject.

Kenneth III. came to his end by female treachery. He had put to death the only son of Fenella, wife of the maormor or viceroy of Kincardineshire. Fenella, though the execution had been a deserved one, did not the less readily determine on revenging her son's death. She invited Kenneth to lodge in her house near Fettercairn in the Mearns: here he was assassinated. The inhospitable murderess escaped from her castle (of which the vestiges are still visible) down a valley, still called Strath-Fenella, to a place in the parish of Fordun, where she was seized and put to death.

The sons of two of Kenneth the Third's predecessors strove for the Scottish crown. One of these was Constantine IV., son of Culen, who assumed the title of king, but was defeated and slain in 995 by Kenneth IV., son of Duff, called the Grim. He was in turn dethroned and slain by Malcolm, son of Kenneth the Third, after eight years spent in broils and bloodshed. This was in 1003.

The victor, Malcolm II., was an able prince and renowned leader. He had much trouble from invasions of the Danes. In 1010 they made a descent upon Moray, and the king of Scots met them in battle. The fury of the Northmen prevailed, and the Scots retreated to the vicinity of a chapel dedicated to Saint Moloch. Here Malcolm, in despair of earthly aid, threw himself from his horse, and made a vow to found a cathedral church to the same tutelar power (however ambiguous the sound of his name) provided he should obtain the victory by his intercession. Rising from his knees, Malcolm fought with enthusiasm, slew the Danish king, and gained a complete victory. The church, dedicated

to Saint Moloch, was built, and is still standing. Twenty-three feet is said to have been selected for the length of the chancel, that it might correspond with that of the king's gigantic spear, for so ran an article of his vow. Several Danish skulls, the relics of distinguished champions, were built up in the wall of the church of Mortlach. Sueno, the Danish monarch, renewed the attempt at invasion by detaching a fleet and army under Camus, one of the most renowned of the vikingar, or kings of the ocean; but he was defeated and slain at Aberlemno, where a tall monumental stone, highly sculptured, still preserves remembrance of the action.

Sueno, disheartened by so many defeats, seems to have entered into some convention with Malcolm II. for abstaining from future invasion, and abandoning a species of castle which he had established in Moray called the Burgh-head. It was highly to the honor both of prince and people, that these northern warriors, who successfully annoyed the sea-coasts of every other country in Europe, and had established a Danish dynasty on the throne of England, were taught by successive defeats to shun the fatal shores of Scotland. It was, probably, the renown attendant on the victories over the Danes, as well as a successful campaign against the Saxons, which gained to Malcolm a large and valuable accession to his territories. Eadulf-Cudel, earl of Northumberland, in 1020 ceded to the Scottish king the rich district of Lothene or Lothian, including not only the whole of the three provinces now called so, but Berwickshire and the lower part of Teviotdale as high perhaps as Melrose upon the Tweed. The condition of this cession was lasting friendship, afterward apparently explained into homage, which the Scottish kings certainly paid for this district of Lothian as well as for other possessions in England, to the sovereigns of that country.

Malcolm died peaceably in 1033, and was succeeded by "The gracious Duncan," the same who fell by the poniard of Macbeth. On reading these names, every reader must

feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noonday; so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recall the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends, because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakespeare having found the tale of Macbeth in the Scottish chronicles of Holinshed, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is by a near investigation discovered to be of no worth or estimation.

Duncan, by his mother Beatrice a grandson of Malcolm II., succeeded to the throne on his grandfather's death, in 1033: he reigned only six years. Macbeth, his near relation, also a grandchild of Malcolm II., though by the mother's side, was stirred up by ambition to contest the throne with the possessor. The lady of Macbeth also, whose real name was Graoch, had deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning prince. She was the granddaughter of Kenneth IV., killed in 1003, fighting against Malcolm II.; and other causes for revenge animated the mind of her who has been since painted as the sternest of women. The old annalists add some instigations of a supernatural kind to the influence of a vindictive woman over an ambitious husband. Three women, of more than human stature and beauty, appeared to Macbeth in a dream or vision, and hailed him successively by the titles of thane of Cromarty, thane of Moray, which the king afterward bestowed on him, and finally by that of king of Scots: this dream, it is said, inspired him with the seductive hopes so well expressed in the drama.

Macbeth broke no law of hospitality in his attempt on

Duncan's life. He attacked and slew the king at a place called Bothgowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as has been supposed, in his own castle of Inverness. The act was bloody, as was the complexion of the times; but, in very truth, the claim of Macbeth to the throne, according to the rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan. As a king, the tyrant so much exclaimed against was, in reality, a firm, just, and equitable prince.

Apprehensions of danger from a party which Malcolm, the eldest son of the slaughtered Duncan, had set on foot in Northumberland, and still maintained in Scotland, seem, in process of time, to have soured the temper of Macbeth, and rendered him formidable to his nobility. Against Macduff, in particular, the powerful maormor of Fife, he had uttered some threats which occasioned that chief to fly from the court of Scotland. Urged by this new counsellor, Siward, the Danish earl of Northumberland, invaded Scotland in the year 1054, displaying his banner in behalf of the banished Malcolm. Macbeth engaged the foe in the neighborhood of his celebrated castle of Dunsinane. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle, and was slain at Lumphananan in 1056.

Very slight observation will enable us to recollect how much this simple statement differs from that of the drama, though the plot of the latter is consistent enough with the inaccurate historians from whom Shakespeare drew his materials. It might be added, that early authorities show us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance, nor have we reason to think that the latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene, according to the stage direction. Neither were Banquo nor his son ancestors of the house of Stuart. All these things are now known; but the mind retains pertinaciously the impression made by the impositions of genius. While the works of Shakespeare are read, and the English language subsists, History may say what she will, but the general reader will only recollect

Macbeth as a sacrilegious usurper, and Richard as a deformed murderer.

Macbeth left a son, named Luach, which is translated *fatuus*, or the simple. After a few months' struggle, he was defeated and slain at Essie, in Strath-Bogie.

CHAPTER III

Malcolm III., called Cean-mohr—Foreigners seek Refuge in Scotland: kindly received by the King and by his Wife—The King's Affection for Margaret—Death of Malcolm and Margaret—Donald Bane—Duncan—Edgar—Alexander I.—David I.—Battle of Northallerton—David's Death—His Beneficence to the Church—His Character as a Sovereign

MALCOLM III., son of Duncan, called Cean-mohr, or Great-head, from the misproportioned size of that part of his body, ascended the Scottish throne in 1056. He was a prince of valor and talent, and, having been bred in the school of adversity, had profited by the lessons taught in that stern seminary. His long residence in the north of England must necessarily have given him means of acquiring more information than if he had remained during his youth with his ignorant subjects. In his reign, too, a more steady light begins to dawn on Scottish history; rather, however, from the English annals than from any that are proper to the kingdom itself. Malcolm had resided long in England; he had probably visited the capital during the time of Edward the Confessor, to whom he had been indebted for relief and protection. His habits and attachments led him to keep up a correspondence with that country; and, excepting the Scottish short and hasty incursion into Northumberland in 1061, nothing occurred during the Saxon dynasty in England which could infringe the good understanding between what may be called from this period the sister kingdoms. The death of Edward the Confessor somewhat shook this state of amity. Malcolm appears to have been more indifferent to the friendship of his successor, Harold, since, in 1066, he received into Scotland Tostigh,

brother to the English king, then hatching a conspiracy, and projecting an invasion of Harold's territories. Tostigh united with the king of Norway, and both were slain next summer at the battle of Stamford Bridge.

The conquest of England by the Normans sent other fugitives into Scotland, who emigrated in consequence of the general change of possession occasioned by so great a revolution. The most distinguished of these were Edgar Atheling of England, the heir of the Confessor's race, with his sister Margaret, one of the fairest and most accomplished maidens in England, and who, considering that her brother was weak both in mind and body, might be looked upon as the hope of the Saxon royal line, so dear to the English nation. Edgar Atheling was also accompanied in his flight by his mother and a younger sister. Malcolm espoused the princess Margaret, about 1067.

Allied to the Saxon royal family by this match, the king of Scots engaged in a league against William the Conqueror with some discontented lords in Northumberland, and with the Danes. The Danes, however, were repulsed, and the Northumbrian conspirators dispersed, before Malcolm took the field, in 1070. Exasperated by some retaliation on his own frontiers, he swept the bishopric of Durham and adjacent parts with such severity, and drove away so great a number of captives, that for many years afterward English slaves were to be found in every hamlet and hut in Scotland.

The revenge of the Conqueror operated an effect similar to that of the wrath of Malcolm. To be avenged of the rebellious Northumbrians, William ravaged the country with a fury which laid utterly waste the fertile possessions between the Humber and Tees. So dolefully was the face of the country changed, says William of Malmesbury, that a stranger would have wept over it, and an ancient inhabitant would not have recognized it. Many thousands of the lower orders, and also a considerable number both of Anglo-Saxons and Normans of condition, who had incurred the wrath of the

Conqueror William, so easy to awake, and so difficult to appease, retired into Scotland as the best place of refuge.

Malcolm, sensible of the value of the Norman chivalry, received both them and the English with distinction, and conferred offices, honors, and estates upon them with no sparing hand. For example, he gave refuge to the Earl of March, who, by a corruption of his name and title (Comes Patricius), was called Gosspatrick, when he was banished from England. To this powerful baron Malcolm committed the castle of Dunbar, which might be called the second and inner gate of Scotland, supposing the strong town of Berwick to be the first. The example is only one out of many instances in which this Scottish monarch displayed his confidence in the Normans, and his desire to engage in his service distinguished persons of that redoubted nation, who, in that age, possessed the highest character for military skill and invincible valor.

The course which Malcolm Cean-mohr pursued from political prudence was forwarded by his royal consort from love to her native country, joined to the dictates of female sympathy with misfortune. She did all in her power, and influenced as far as possible the mind of her husband, to relieve the distresses of her Saxon countrymen, of high or low degree; assuaged their afflictions, and was zealous in protecting those who had been involved in the ruin which the battle of Hastings brought on the royal house of Edward the Confessor. The gentleness and mildness of temper proper to this amiable woman, probably also the experience of her prudence and good sense, had great weight with Malcolm, who, though preserving a portion of the ire and ferocity belonging to the king of a wild people, was far from being insensible to the suggestions of his amiable consort. He stooped his mind to hers on religious matters, adorned her favorite books of devotion with rich bindings, and was often seen to kiss and pay respect to the volumes which he was unable to read. He acted also as interpreter to Margaret, when she endeavored to enlighten the Scottish clergy upon

the proper time of celebrating Easter; and though we cannot attach much consequence to the issue of this polemical controversy, which terminated, of course, in favor of the cause adopted by the fair pleader and the royal interpreter, yet it is a pleasing picture of conjugal affection laboring jointly for the instruction of a barbarous people; nor can we doubt that its influence was felt in more material circumstances than the precise question at issue.

After the death of William the Conqueror, and the accession of William Rufus, various subjects of quarrel and mutual incursions took place betwixt England and Scotland. The general cause of dispute related to the terms on which Malcolm was to possess Cumberland and Northumberland. These provinces, as already mentioned, had been ceded, the first by the Saxon king Edgar, the second by a Northumbrian earl, to the Scottish crown, under condition of close alliance and neighborly assistance. The introduction of feudal holdings substituted the homage and fealty of an inferior prince to a lord paramount, instead of the loose stipulation of friendship and occasional assistance. These feudal conditions could only apply to the provinces of Lothian, including Berwickshire and part of Teviotdale, to Northumberland, and to Cumberland. In the first of these provinces Malcolm, who, crossing the Firth of Forth, frequently resided there, had established a fixed and permanent authority. In the two English counties his tenure and his influence on the affections of the subjects were much less decided. In 1080 William Rufus built the fortress of Newcastle, and in 1092 that of Carlisle, both necessarily tending to bridle and render insecure the possessions of the Scottish king in the two northern counties. The question of homage was fiercely agitated at this early period, as in subsequent generations, and usually arranged upon general terms, or, according to the legal phrase, *salvo jure cujuslibet.*

These heart-burnings were terminated by the death of Malcolm Cean-mohr. This enterprising prince made a hasty incursion into England, and besieged Alnwick with a tu-

multuary army. The circumstance that a fortress so near the frontiers was not in his possession argues how imperfect was his authority in Northumberland. While thus employed, he was surprised by Roger de Mowbray, a Norman baron, at the head of a considerable force, and an action ensued, on the 13th November, 1093, in which Malcolm Cean-mohr fell, with his eldest son. Queen Margaret, much indisposed at the time, only lived to hear the event, and express her resignation to the will of God. She died on the 16th November, on receiving the fatal tidings.

After her death, Margaret was received into the Romish calendar. A legend of a well-imagined miracle narrates that when it was proposed to remove the body of the new saint to a tomb of more distinction, it was found impossible to lift it until that of her husband had received the same honor, as if in her state of beatitude Margaret had been guided by the same feelings of conjugal deference and affection which had regulated this excellent woman's conduct while on earth.

The character of Malcolm Cean-mohr himself stands high, if his situation and opportunities be considered. He was a man of undaunted courage and generosity. A nobleman of his court had engaged to assassinate him. The circumstance became known to the king, who, during the amusement of a hunting-match, drew the conspirator into a solitary glade of the forest, upbraided him with his traitorous intentions, and defied him to mortal and equal combat. The assassin, surprised at this act of generosity, threw himself at the king's feet, confessed his meditated crime, his present repentance, and vowed fidelity for the future. The king trusted him as before, and had no reason to repent of his manly conduct. This story seems to show that Malcolm, the protector and friend of the chivalrous Normans, had caught a portion of that spirit of knightly honor and high-souled generosity which they contributed so much to spread throughout Europe.

A very improbable legend asserts that Malcolm formally introduced the feudal system into Scotland. It is circum-

stantially alleged that he summoned all the Scottish nobility to meet him at Scone, and that each bringing with him, as directed, a handful of earth from his lands, surrendered them by that symbol to the king, who granted charters of them anew to each proprietor, under the form of feudal investiture. The Moot Hill of Scone, or place of justice, called *Mons placiti*, is said to be composed of these symbols of surrender, and thence called *omnis terra*. This legend is totally incredible. But if Malcolm did not, as indeed he probably could not, change the laws of his whole kingdom, by altering in every case the tenure on which property was held, there is no doubt that, by various grants in particular instances, he contributed to introduce into Scotland the custom of feudal investitures. It was a system agreeable to the prince, to whom it attributed the flattering character of superior, paramount, or original proprietor of the lands of the whole kingdom. It was agreeable also to the Normans whom he attracted to his court. These attached security to a royal charter, and felt that they increased their personal consequence, by obtaining the power of granting lands which they could not occupy to sub-vassals, who should hold of them, under terms of service similar to those by which they themselves held their estates from the crown. The feudal system was also the established law of France and England, to which the Scottish monarch would naturally look for the means of improving the rude institutions of his native country. Although, therefore, feudal law certainly was not introduced by Malcolm Cean-mohr, we may conclude that Scotland was in his time first prepared to receive it by detached instances, and the gradual operation of concurring circumstances.

Malcolm Cean-mohr at his death left a family under age, but was succeeded by his brother Donald Bane, a wild Scot, who, flying to the Hebrides on the death of their father Duncan, does not appear to have visited his brother Malcolm at any period of his reign, or partaken in any of the novelties which he had introduced. He hurried to Scotland

on his brother's decease, and, by the assistance of an army of western islanders, took possession of the crown, to the prejudice of his brother's children. This rough chieftain was welcomed by many of the northern Scots, who were jealous of the innovations of Malcolm and his preference of strangers.

The first edict of Donald Bane was a sentence of banishment against all foreigners; a brutal attempt to bring back all Scotland to the savage state of Argyle and the Hebrides. It is seldom, however, that civilization, having once made some progress, can be compelled to retrograde, unless when knowledge is united with corruption and effeminacy. Donald Bane had no permanent triumph. In 1094, Duncan, a base-born son of the late king, collected a numerous force of English and Normans, and, driving Donald Bane back among the Red-shanks, took possession of his throne; whether in his own right, or as regent for the lawful family of Malcolm, is uncertain. After having held the sceptre, proper or delegated, for a year, Edmund, his half-brother, the second of the legitimate children of Malcolm Cean-mohr (the first being a priest), procured the assassination of Duncan, by an earl of the Mearns, and replaced Donald Bane on the throne, in consequence of a treaty, by which he became bound to share the kingdom with Edmund.

Donald Bane, thus again enthroned, resumed his purpose of destroying what his brother Malcolm had accomplished for civilizing Scotland, and expelled anew the foreigners from his kingdom. This produced a fresh revolution. In 1098, Edgar, the third son of Malcolm and of the amiable Margaret, being favored by William Rufus, received succors from England, and making himself master of his uncle Donald Bane's person, imprisoned him, and put out his eyes. Edmund, who had been the author of this second usurpation of Donald Bane, was imprisoned, and in token of penitence for the guilt he had incurred by his accession to the murder of Duncan, ordered the fetters which he had worn in his dungeon to be buried with him in his coffin. Not-

withstanding his cruelty to his aged uncle, the character of Edgar seems to have been equitable and humane. He kept peace with England; and the amity between the kingdoms was strengthened by Henry I., called Beauclerc, becoming the husband of Matilda, the sister of Edgar. Edgar died in 1106, after an undisturbed reign of about nine years.

Alexander I. succeeded as next brother of Edgar. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the determined struggle which he made in defence of the independence of the Church of Scotland. This was maintained against the archbishops of Canterbury and York, each of whom claimed a spiritual superiority over Scotland, and a right to consecrate the archbishop of St. Andrew's, the primate of that kingdom. Notwithstanding the hostile interference of the pope, Alexander, with considerable address, contrived to play off the contradictory pretensions of the two English archbishops against each other, and thus to evade complying with either. Of Alexander's personal character we can only judge from the epithet of *the fierce*, which referred probably to his own temper and manners, since assuredly his reign was peaceful. He died 1124.

Alexander was succeeded by David I., youngest son of Malcolm Cean-mohr, and a monarch of great talents. He was free from the ignorant barbarity of his countrymen, having been educated, during his youth, at the court of Henry I., the celebrated Beauclerc, his sister's husband. David had entered into the views of that wise monarch touching his succession, and had sworn to maintain the right of Henry's daughter, the Empress Matilda, the well-known Queen Maud of the English chroniclers, to the kingdom of England. Accordingly he asserted her title in 1135, and when, upon the death of Henry, Stephen, earl of Mortagne, usurped the throne of England, the Scottish king commenced war for the purpose of displacing him. But the forces of David I. were of a character unusually tumultuary, and afforded a curious specimen of the miscellaneous tribes which, long mixing without incorporating, at length formed

the source from which the Scottish people of modern times derive their descent. "That accursed army," says the monkish chronicler, so stigmatizing David's troops on account of their horrible excesses, "consisted of Normans, Germans, and English, of Cumbrian Britons, of Northumbrians, of men of Teviotdale and Lothian, of Picts, commonly called men of Galloway, and of Scots." Differing from each other in customs, and in a certain measure in language, these various nations seem only to have agreed in the general use of the utmost license and cruelty, which the English historians candidly admit was restrained as much as possible by the regulations of their monarch.

Stephen marched northward to repel David and his miscellaneous host; but the war languished, and gave place to a succession of truces and hollow treaties, which were made and broken without much ceremony. The parties were, perhaps, more equally balanced than a Scottish and an English king had been either before or after. The want of discipline in David's army was compensated by the treachery subsisting in that of Stephen, which every now and then showed itself by the revolt of some of his barons. Stephen tried to obtain peace with Scotland by surrender of the open country in Northumberland and Cumberland, retaining, however, the castles and strong places, by means of which the territory which he now ceded could, in a more favorable moment, be speedily recovered. David was awake to this policy, and, well aware his single force was unequal to placing Matilda on the throne, he, with the usual policy of auxiliaries, made it his object to gain what enlargement of territories he could, either by conquest or cession, though the price should be his forsaking the cause in which he had taken up arms. For this purpose, he invaded Northumberland, in 1138, at a time when Stephen was so hard pressed in the south that he was compelled to abandon the northern barons to their own defence. These brave men, however, despised submission to an invader; or, whatever deference some of them might be disposed to render to the king of Scots' per-

sonal merits, the atrocities of the Galwegians and other barbarous tribes in David's army roused every hand in opposition to such an army and its leader. Thurstan, archbishop of York, a prelate of equal prudence and spirit, summoned a convention of the English northern barons, and exhorted them to determined resistance. Age and boyhood were called to the combat. Roger de Mowbray, almost a child, was brought to the English host, and placed at the head of his numerous vassals. Walter l'Espec, an aged baron of great fame in war, was chosen general-in-chief. A standard was erected in the camp, being the mast of a ship fixed on a four-wheeled carriage, from which were displayed the banners of Saint Peter of York, Saint John of Beverley, and Saint Wilfred of Rippon. On the top, and surrounded by these ensigns, was a casket or pyx, containing a consecrated host. The displaying of this standard served to give a sacred character to the war, and was the more appropriate, as the struggle was with the Galwegians, a barbarous people, as sacrilegious as they were bloodthirsty and inhuman. With this apparatus of religion mixed with war, the barons advanced to Northallerton.

David had moved toward the same point, and not without gaining considerable success. William, the son of that Duncan, natural brother of David, who had expelled Donald Bane from the Scottish throne in 1094, was a distinguished leader in his uncle's army. He seems to have been a chief of military talent, and was employed by David in commanding the Galwegians so often mentioned. On this occasion he led a large body of these wild men into Lancashire, and defeated a considerable English army at a place called Clitherow, near the sources of the Ribble. From thence William Mac Duncan conducted them to join King David at Northallerton, loaded as they were with spoil and elated with additional presumption.

David, thus reinforced, moved forward with such celerity that he had wellnigh surprised the English army, who were encamped on Cuton Moor. Robert de Bruce, an aged Nor-

man baron, familiar with the king, and holding, as many others did, lands in both kingdoms, was despatched from the English camp to negotiate with David, at least to gain time. This old warrior objected to the king the impolicy and unkindness of oppressing the English and Normans, whose arms had often supported the Scottish throne. He argued with him upon the unchivalrous and unchristian atrocities of his soldiers, and finally surrendering the land which he held of David, he renounced all homage to him, and declared himself his enemy. Bernard de Baliol, a Yorkshire baron in like circumstances, made a similar renunciation and defiance. Bruce and the king wept as they parted. William, the son of Duncan, called Bruce a false traitor.

Another characteristic scene took place in a council of war held in the Scottish camp on the same evening, to prepare for the battle of the next day. The king had determined that the action should be begun by the archers and men-at-arms, who composed the regular strength of his army. But the Galwegians, presumptuous from their late success, were determined on leading the van, though it is not easy to guess by what alleged right they supported such a pretension. "Whence this confidence in these men cased in mail?" said a Celtic chief, Malise, earl of Stratherne: "I wear none; yet will I advance further to-morrow than those who are sheathed in steel." Alan de Percy, a natural brother of the great baron of that name, and a follower of David, replied that Malise said more than he would dare to make good. David interfered to put an end to the dispute, and yielded, though unwillingly, to the claim of the Galwegians.

On the fated morning of August 22, 1138, both armies drew up. The English were in one compact body, with their cavalry in the rear. The Scottish army formed three lines. In the first were the Galwegians, under their leaders, Ulgrick and Dovenald. The second line was commanded by David's son, Prince Henry, and consisted of the men-at-arms and the archers, with the men of Cumberland and

Teviotdale, both of the ancient stock of Britons. The men of Lothian and the Hebrideans formed the third body; and a reserve, consisting of selected English and Normans, with the Scots properly called so, and the Moray men, who were chiefly of Scandinavian descent, completed the order of battle. Here David himself took his station.

The English in the meantime received the blessing of the aged Thurstan, conferred by his delegate the titular bishop of the Orkneys, and swore to each other to be victorious or die. The Galwegians rushed on with a hideous cry of Albanigh! Albanigh![1] and staggered the phalanx of spearmen, on whom they threw themselves with incredible fury. The severe and unremitting discharge of the English archery was, however, unsupportable by naked men, and the Galwegians were about to leave the field, when Prince Henry came up with the Scots men-at-arms in full career, and dispersed "like a spider's web" that part of the English army which was opposed to him. The Galwegians had begun to rally, and the battle was renewed with fury, when a report flew through both armies that David had fallen. It was in vain that the king flew helmetless through the ranks, imploring the soldiers to rally and stand by him. Order could not be restored, and he was at length forced from the field to secure his personal safety. The king availed himself of the humiliation of the Galwegians to introduce some humanity into his army of barbarians, and to draw the reins of discipline more tight.

It is obvious from this whole narrative that the battle of Cuton Moor, or Northallerton, was a well-disputed, and for some time a doubtful action; and though its immediate consequences seem less important, the remote effects of the victory decided much in favor of England. David, victorious

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[1] By this they meant to announce themselves as descended from the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, called of old Albyn and Albania. When they were repulsed, the English called in scorn, Eyrych, Eyrych, "You are but Irish," which, indeed, must have been true of that part of the Galwegians called the wild Scots of Galloway, who are undoubtedly Scotch Irish.

at Cuton Moor, might have assured to himself and his posterity the north of England, as far as the Trent and Humber; and what influential importance that must have given to a Scottish monarch in future wars can only be matter of conjecture, or must rather have depended on the character and talents of David's successors.

Even amid all the pride of victory, Stephen consented, in 1139, for the sake of peace, to surrender to Prince Henry of Scotland the whole earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the castles of Newcastle and Bamborough, by means of which the English monarch retained the means of recovering the whole province when time should serve. After this peace of Durham, as it was called, David appears to have gone to London, in 1141, to share the short-lived triumph of his niece Matilda. But this was the visit of a relation and friend, and not that of an ally. The Scottish king found the royal lady ill-disposed to receive the lessons of calmness and moderation which his experience recommended, and returned to his own country in disgust, leaving his niece to her fortunes.

In 1152 Scotland lost a treasure by the death of the inestimable Prince Henry. He left by Ada, an English lady of quality, a family of three sons and as many daughters.

In the subsequent year the venerable David followed his son. Having discharged all his duty as a man and a monarch, by settling his affairs as well as the early age of his grandchildren would permit, he was found dead in an attitude of devotion, 24th May, 1153.

That extensive liberality to the Church which procured David's admission into the ample roll of Romish saints, made rather an unfavorable impression on his successors. "He kythed," said James the First, "a sair saint to the crowne." If indeed we contemplate with modern eyes the munificent foundations of Kelso, Melrose, Holyrood House, Jedburgh, Newbottle, Kinloss, Dryburgh, etc., we may be disposed to consider David's liberality to the Church as nearly allied to wasteful extravagance. But it is to be con-

sidered that the monks were the only preservers of the little learning of the time; that they were exclusively possessed of the knowledge of literature, the arts of staining glass, gardening, and mechanics; that they taught religion to all, and some touch of useful learning to the children of the nobility. These things kept in view, it will not seem strange that a patriot king should desire to multiply the number of communities so much calculated to aid civilization. Let it be remembered, also, that the monks were agriculturists; that their vassals and bondmen were proverbially said to live well under the crosier; that though these ecclesiastics are generally alleged to have chosen the best of the land, its present superiority is often owing to their own better skill of cultivation. The convents, besides, afforded travellers the only means of refuge and support which were to be found in the country, and constituted the sole fund for the maintenance of the poor and infirm. Lastly, as the sacred territory gifted to the Church escaped on common occasions the ravages of war, there seems much reason for excusing a liberality which placed so much fertile land, with its produce, beyond the reach of military devastation. It was, perhaps, with this view that King David endowed so many convents upon the borders so peculiarly exposed to suffer by war.

In other respects, the prudence and kingly virtues of David I. are unimpeachable. Buchanan, no favorer of royalty, has left his testimony, that the life of this monarch affords the perfect example of a good and patriot king. He was constant and active in the distribution of justice, was merciful and beneficent in peace, valiant and skilful in war. He wept over the horrors committed by his lawless armies, and endeavored to atone for what he could not prevent, by presents to the churches which suffered. Nay, so great was his remorse for the crimes they had committed under his rule, that it is said the king of Scotland entertained thoughts of going a pilgrimage to Palestine, and dedicating the remainder of his life to combating the Saracens. But he was withheld from his purpose by a more rational consideration

of the duty he owed to his subjects. It is also recorded of David, that, loving pleasure like other men, he was always ready to postpone it to duty. If his hounds were drawn out, his courser mounted, and all prepared for the enjoyment of the chase, the voice of a poor man requiring justice at his hand was sufficient to postpone the amusement, though the king was passionately fond of it, until he had heard and answered the petition of the suppliant.

In point of civilization, the character and habits of David were highly favorable to the advance of those schemes which his father Malcolm Cean-mohr had formed, with the assistance perhaps of his sainted queen. In choosing his residence, Malcolm had pitched upon Dunfermline, being the very verge of his kingdom, as far as it was properly Scottish. David, in imitation of his father, Malcolm Cean-mohr, pushed southward across the broad firth, and was, it would seem, the first Scottish king who sometimes resided at Edinburgh, which, from its strong fortress and neighboring seaport, was now become a place of consideration, and where he founded the abbey of Holy Rood, afterward the royal residence of the monarchs of Scotland. This choice of abode placed him in frequent contact with the only province of his kingdom in which English was constantly spoken, led to the frequent use of that language in his court, and to the increase of the civilization with which he had become acquainted during his education in England.

CHAPTER IV

Malcolm IV.—William the Lion: his Captivity—Treaty of Falaise: Abrogated by Richard I.—Death and Character of William—Alexander II.: his Death

MALCOLM IV., at the age of twelve years, succeeded to his excellent grandfather, David I., 1153. Being a Celtic prince, succeeding to a people of whom the great proportion were Celts, he was inaugurated at Scone with the peculiar ceremonies belonging to the Scoto-Irish race. In compliance with their ancient customs, he was placed upon a fated stone, dedicated to this solemn use, and brought for that purpose from Ireland by Fergus, the son of Eric. An Iro-Scottish or Highland bard also stepped forward, and chanted to the people a Gaelic poem, containing the catalogue of the young king's ancestors, from the reign of the same Fergus, founder of the dynasty.[1] The poem has been fortunately preserved, and must not be considered in the light of one of Cibber's birthday odes. On the contrary, it was an exposition from the king to the people of the royal descent, in virtue of which he claimed their obedience, and bears a sufficiently accurate conformity with other meagre documents on the same subject, to enable modern antiquaries, by comparing the lists, to form a regular catalogue of these barbarous kings or kinglets of the Dalriadic race.

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[1] The Celtic bard was usually a genealogist or scannachie, and the display of his talents was often exhibited in the recital of versified pedigrees. In a burlesque poem, called the Howlat, such a character is introduced in ridicule. It was written in the reign of James II., when all reverence for the bardic profession was lost, at least in the lowlands.—See the Bannatyne edition of this ancient poem.

In Malcolm's reign the lords of the Hebridean islands, who were in a state of independence, scarcely acknowledging even a nominal allegiance either to the crown of Scotland or that of Norway, though claimed by both countries, began to give much annoyance to the western coasts of Scotland, to which their light-armed galleys or *birlins*, and their habits of piracy, gave great facilities. Somerled was at this time lord of the isles, and a frequent leader in such incursions. Peace was made with this turbulent chief in 1153; but in 1164, ten years after, Somerled was again in arms, and fell, attempting a descent at Renfrew.

Malcolm IV.'s transactions with Henry of England were of greater moment. Henry (second of the name) had sworn (in 1149) that if he ever gained the English crown he would put the Scottish king in possession of Carlisle, and of all the country lying between Tweed and Tyne; but, when securely seated on the throne, instead of fulfilling his obligation, he endeavored to deprive Malcolm of such possessions in the northern counties as yet remained to him, forgetting his obligations to his great-uncle David, and his relationship to the young king his grandson. The youth and inexperience of Malcolm seem on this occasion to have been circumvented by the sagacity of Henry, who was besides, in point of power, greatly superior to the young Scots prince. Indeed, it would appear that the English sovereign had acquired a personal influence over his kinsman, of which his Scottish subjects had reason to be jealous. Malcolm yielded up to Henry all his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland; and when it is considered that his grandfather David had not been able to retain them with any secure hold, even when England was distracted with the civil wars of Stephen and Matilda, it must be owned that his descendant, opposed to Henry II. in his plenitude of undisputed power, had little chance to make his claim good. He also did homage for Lothian, to the great scandal of Scottish historians, who, conceiving his doing so affected the question of Scottish independence, are much disposed

to find the Lothian, for which the homage was rendered, in Leeds or some other place, different from the real Lothian, which they considered as an original part of Scotland. But this arises from their entertaining the erroneous opinion that Lothian bore, in Malcolm the Fourth's time, the same character of an integral part of Scotland which it has long exhibited. Homage was done by the Scottish kings for Lothian, simply because it had been a part or moiety of Northumberland, ceded by Eadulf-Cudel, a Saxon earl of Northumberland, to Malcolm II., on condition of amity and support in war, for which, as feudal institutions gained ground, feudal homage was the natural substitute and emblem.[1]

Besides the cession of his Northumbrian possessions, Malcolm seems to have attached himself to Henry II. personally, and to have cultivated a sort of intimacy which, when it exists between a powerful and a weaker prince, seldom fails to be dangerous to the independence of the latter. The Scottish king was knighted by Henry, in 1159, and attended and served in his campaigns in France, till he was recalled by the formal remonstrances of his subjects, who declared they would not permit English influence to predominate in their councils. In 1160, Malcolm's return and presence quelled a dissatisfaction which had wellnigh broken out into open mutiny. He was also successful in putting down insurrections in the detached and half-independent provinces of Galloway and Moray. Malcolm IV. died in 1165, at the early age of twenty-four years. Though brave in battle, he seems from his intercourse with Henry to have been flexible and yielding in council, to which, with some effeminacy of exterior and shyness of manners, must be attributed his historical epithet of Malcolm the Maiden. It could not be owing, as alleged by monkish writers, to his strict continence, since it is now certain that he had at least one natural son.

William, brother of Malcolm IV., succeeded him, and was crowned in 1166. He instantly solicited from Henry

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[1] See page 29.

the restitution of Northumberland, and, disgusted with the English monarch when it was refused him, opened a negotiation with France, being the first authentic account of that intercourse between the countries which an idle legend imputes to a league between Achay or Achaius, king of Scots, and the celebrated Charlemagne, and by which the latter monarch is idly said to have taken into his pay a body of Scottish mercenaries.

The declared enemy of England, William took advantage of the family discords of Henry II. to lend that prince's son Richard assistance against his father. The Scottish king obtained from the insurgent prince a grant of the earldom of Northumberland as far as the Tyne. Willing to merit this munificence on the part of Richard, William in 1173 invaded Northumberland without any marked success. In the subsequent year he renewed the attempt, which terminated most disastrously. The Scottish king had stationed himself before Alnwick, a fortress fatal to his family, and was watching the motions of the garrison, while his numerous and disorderly army plundered the country. Meantime a band of those northern barons of England, whose ancestors had gained the battle of the standard, had arrived at Newcastle, and sallied out to scour the country. They made about four hundred horsemen, and had ridden out upon adventure, concealed by a heavy morning mist. A retreat was advised, as they became uncertain of their way; but Bernard de Baliol exclaimed, that should they all turn bridle, he alone would go on and preserve his honor. They advanced, accordingly, somewhat at random. The mist suddenly cleared away, and they discovered the battlements of Alnwick, and found themselves close to a body of about sixty horse, with whom William, the Scottish king, was patrolling the country. At first he took the English for a part of his own army, and when undeceived, said boldly, "Now shall we see who are good knights," and charged at the head of his handful of followers. He was unhorsed and made prisoner, with divers of his principal followers. The

northern barons, afraid of a rescue from the numerous Scottish army, retreated with all speed to Newcastle, bearing with them their royal captive. William was presented to Henry at Northampton with his legs tied beneath the horse's belly; unworthy usage for a captive prince, the near relation of his victor. It should be remembered, however, that William's interference in the domestic quarrels of his family must have greatly incensed Henry against him, and that it was not a time when men were scrupulous in their mode of expressing resentment.

We may reasonably suppose that, with such vindictive feelings toward his prisoner, Henry II. was not likely to part with him unless upon the most severe terms. And the loss of the king was so complete a derangement of the system of government, as it then existed in Scotland, that the Scottish nobility and clergy consented that, in order to obtain his freedom, William should become the liegeman of Henry, and do homage for Scotland and all his other territories. Before this disgraceful treaty, which was concluded at Falaise in Normandy, in December, 1174, the kings of England had not the semblance of a right to exact homage for a single inch of Scottish ground, Lothian alone excepted, which was ceded to Malcolm II., as has been repeatedly mentioned, by grant of the Northumbrian earl Eadulf. All the other component parts of what is now termed Scotland had come to the crown of that kingdom by right of conquest, without having been dependent on England in any point of view. The Pictish territories had been united to those of the Scots by the victories of Kenneth Macalpine. Moray had reverted to the Scottish crown by the success of Malcolm II. in repelling the Danes. Galloway had also been reduced to the Scottish sway without the aid or intervention of England; and Strath-Clyde was subjected under like circumstances. A feudal dependence could only have been created by cession of land which had originally been English, or by restoring that which had been conquered from Scotland. But England could have no title to homage for provinces which,

having never possessed, England could not cede, and having never conquered, could not restore.

Now, however, by the treaty of Falaise, the king of England was declared lord paramount of the whole kingdom of Scotland; a miserable example of that impatience which too often characterized the Scottish councils.

An attempt was made at the same time to subject the Scottish Church to that of England, by a clause in the same treaty, declaring that the former should be bound to the latter in such subjection as had been due and paid of old time, and that the English Church should enjoy that supremacy which in justice she ought to possess. The Scottish churchmen explained this provision, which was formed with studied ambiguity, as leaving the whole question entire, since they alleged that no supremacy had been yielded in former times, and that none was justly due. But the civil article of submission was more carefully worded; and the principal castles in the realm, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were put in Henry's hands, as pledges for the execution of the treaty of Falaise; while the king's brother, David, earl of Huntingdon, and many Scottish nobles, were surrendered as hostages to the same effect. Homage for broad Scotland was in fact rendered at York, according to the tenor of the treaty, and the king's personal freedom was then obtained.

William had surrendered the independence of his kingdom in ill-advised eagerness to recover his personal freedom; but he maintained with better spirit the franchises of the Church. In a disputed election (1181) for the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, he opposed with steadiness and constancy the induction of John, called the Scot, who was patronized by the pope, Alexander III. The kingdom of Scotland was laid under an interdict; but William remained unshaken; and a new pope, willing to compromise the matter, gave way to the king's pleasure, and recalled the excommunication. In 1188, Pope Clement III. formally ratified the privileges of the Church of Scotland, as a daughter of, and immediately subject to, Rome,

and declared that no sentence of excommunication should be pronounced there save by his holiness or his legate *a latere*, such legate being a Scottish subject, or one specially deputed out of the sacred college. These were the principal transactions of William's reign after his release till the death of Henry II. of England, omitting only some savage transactions in Galloway, which argued the total barbarity of the inhabitants.

The frontier castles of Roxburgh and Berwick still remained in possession of the English at the death of Henry II. On the succession of his son, Richard Cœur de Lion, a remarkable treaty was entered into between the kings and nations, by which, after a personal interview with William, at Canterbury, Richard renounced all right of superiority or homage which had been extorted from William during his captivity, and re-established the borders of the two kingdoms as they had been at the time of William's misfortune; reserving to England such homage as Malcolm, the elder brother of William, had paid, or was bound to have rendered; and thus replacing Scotland fully in the situation of national independence resigned by the treaty of Falaise. All claims of homage due to England before that surrender were carefully reserved, and therefore William was still the king of England's vassal for Lothian, for the town of Berwick, and for whatever lands besides he possessed within the realm of England. The stipulated compensation to be paid by Scotland for this ample restitution of her national freedom was ten thousand marks sterling, a sum equal to one hundred thousand pounds in the present day.

The inducements leading Richard to renounce the advantages which his father had acquired in the moment of William's misfortune were manifest: 1. The generous nature of Richard probably remembered that the invasion of Northumberland and the battle of Alnwick took place in consequence of a treaty between William and himself; and he might think himself obliged in honor to relieve his ally of some part, at least, of the ill consequences which had fol-

lowed his ill-fated attempt to carry into effect their agreement. This was, indeed, an argument which monarchs of a selfish disposition would not have been willing to admit; but it was calculated to affect the chivalrous and generous feelings of Cœur de Lion. 2. Richard being on the point of embarking for the Holy Land, a large sum of money was of more importance to him than the barren claim of homage, which, in effect, could never have a real or distinct value to an English monarch, unless when, at some favorable opportunity, it could be connected with a claim to the property as well as the mere superiority of the kingdom of Scotland. 3. It was of the highest consequence that the English king, bound on a distant expedition with the flower of his army, should leave a near-bordering and warlike neighbor rather in the condition of a grateful ally than of a sullen and discontented vassal, desirous to snatch the first opportunity of bursting his feudal fetters, by an exertion of violence similar to that which had imposed them.

The money stipulated for the redemption of the national independence of Scotland was collected by an aid granted to the king by the nobles and the clergy; and there is reason to think that, in part at least, the burden descended on the inhabitants in the shape of a capitation tax. Two thousand marks remained due when Richard himself became a prisoner, and were paid by William in aid of the lion-hearted prince's ransom, if indeed, which seems equally probable, that sum was not a generous and gratuitous contribution on the part of the Scottish king toward the liberation of his benefactor.

Domestic dissensions in his distant provinces, all of them brought to a happy conclusion by his skill and activity, are the most marked historical events in William's after-reign. Some misunderstanding with King John of England occasioned the levying forces on both sides; but by a treaty entered into between the princes, the causes of complaint were removed; William agreeing to pay to John a sum of fifteen thousand marks for goodwill, it is said, and for certain favor-

able conditions. William died at Stirling, 1214, aged seventy-two, after a long and active reign of forty-eight years.

William derived his cognomen of the Lion from his being the first who adopted that animal as the armorial bearing of Scotland. From this emblem the chief of the Scottish heralds is called the Lion king-at-arms. Chivalry was fast gaining ground in Scotland at this time, as appears from the importance attached by William and his elder brother Malcolm to the dignity of knighthood, and also from the romantic exclamation of William, when he joined the unequal conflict at Alnwick, "Now shall we see the best knights."

William the Lion was a legislator, and his laws are preserved. He was a strict, almost a severe, administrator of justice; but the turn of the age and the temper of his subjects required that justice, which in a more refined period can and ought to make many distinctions in the classification of crimes, should in barbarous times seize her harvest with less selection. The blot of William's reign was his rashness at Alnwick, and the precipitation with which he bartered the independence of Scotland for his own liberty. But his dexterous negotiation with Richard I. enabled him to recover that false step, and to leave his kingdom in the same condition in which he found it. By his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, William had a son, Alexander, who succeeded to him. By illicit intrigues he left a numerous family.

Alexander II.'s reign, though active, busy, and abounding in events, yet exhibits few incidents of that deeply influential character which affect future ages. These events are rather to be considered in the gross than in particular detail, and we shall revert to them hereafter, only stating here generally that Alexander's battles chiefly took place in endeavoring to give currency to the law in those parts of his kingdom which were still Celtic.

Alexander had, in 1216, a temporary quarrel with John, which led to mutual depredations; but peace was restored, and, in 1221, he married the English princess Joan, who was secured in a jointure of one thousand pounds of landed rent.

In 1222, the king was engaged in subduing a rebellion in Argyle; and, in the same year, was obliged to visit Caithness, where the bishop had been burned in his house by connivance of the earl of the same county. In 1228 it was the district of Moray which was discontented and disturbed by the achievements of one Gillescop, who was put down and executed by the efforts of the Earl of Buchan, justiciary of Scotland. In 1231 Caithness witnessed a second tragedy similar to that of 1228, only the parts of the performers were altered. It was now the bishop or his retainers who murdered the Earl of Caithness and burned his castle. This called for and received fresh chastisement.

In 1233 new tumults arose among the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. Alan, lord of Galloway, died, leaving three daughters. The king was desirous of dividing the region among them as heirs portioners. The inhabitants withstood, in arms, the partition of their country, being resolved it should continue in the form of a single fief. The purpose of the king was to break the strength of this great principality, and create three chiefs who might be naturally expected to be more dependent on the crown than a single overgrown vassal had proved to be. Alexander led an army against the insurgents, defeated them, and effected the proposed division of the province.

It is to be carefully noted that all these wars with his insurgent Celtic subjects, though maintained by the king in defence of the administration of justice and authority, tended not the less to alienate the districts in which they took place from the royal power and authority; and the temporary submission of their chiefs was always made with reluctance, and seldom with sincerity.

In 1249 Alexander II. died in the remote island of Kerrera, in the Hebrides, while engaged in an expedition for compelling the island chiefs to transfer to the Scottish king a homage which some of them had paid to Norway, as lord paramount of the isles. He was a wise and active monarch. He showed his integrity by the care and good faith with

which he protected the frontiers of England, when confided to him, in 1241, by his contemporary, Henry III. Alexander II. left no children by his first wife, Princess Joan. His second was Mary de Couci, a daughter of that proud house who on their banners affected a motto disclaiming the rank of king.[1] By her he had Alexander III., who, at his father's death, was a child of eight years old.

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[1] Je suis ni roi, ni prince aussi—
Je suis le seigneur de Couci.

CHAPTER V

Reign of Alexander III.: his Death—On the Race of Kings Succeeding to Kenneth Macalpine—Nature of their Government as distinguished from that of the Celts—Grand Division of Scotland into Celtic and Gothic; and its Consequences

EVEN before the death of Alexander II. some dispute had taken place on the old theme of the homage, the usual subject of contention. Alexander refused to submit to pay it, unless Northumberland, for which it was rendered, should be restored to him. Henry III. compounded this demand by settling on the Scottish king lands in that county to the amount of one hundred pounds per annum. This, however, was a consideration unconnected with Scotland; and though an inadequate one, according to our ideas, yet perfectly saved the question of national independence, Henry thereby acquiescing in the principle insisted upon by the Scottish king and statesmen, that the acknowledgment of dependence was to be rendered for something held in England. Whether the estate for which fealty was due chanced to be of great or small value could not affect the question, since homage might be rendered for a hamlet or a manor, as well as for a county or kingdom. The only difference was, that the less the value of the fief, of the smaller importance were the feudal prestations, and the consequences of the feudal forfeiture were less worthy of attention. Henry was not yet satisfied; and the insinuations of Bisset, a Scottish exile, irritated him so much against the Scottish king that he determined on an invasion of his kingdom. He was met by Alexander, at the head of a gallant army near Ponteland, in Westmoreland, and a peace was agreed upon without any further discussion about the homage.

It was clear, however, that the matter lay near to the heart of the English sovereign; and no sooner was Alexander II. deceased, than Henry applied to the pope, praying him to interdict the solemn coronation of Alexander III. till he, as feudal superior of Scotland, should give consent. The Scottish nobility heard of this interference, and resolved to hasten the ceremony. Some difficulty occurred whether the crown could be placed on the head of one not yet dubbed knight, so essential was the rank of chivalry then considered even to the dignity of royalty. It was suggested by Comyn, earl of Monteith, that the bishop of Saint Andrew's should knight the king as well as crown him; and the proposal was agreed to. The boy was made to take the coronation oaths in Latin and in Norman-French: this was a Gothic part of the ceremony. That the Scottish or Celtic forms might also be complied with, a Highland bard, dressed in a scarlet robe, venerable for his hoary beard and locks, knelt before the young king, while seated on the fated stone, and, as at the coronation of Malcolm IV., recited the royal genealogy in a set of names that must have sounded like an invocation of the fiends.

The young king was, shortly after his coronation, married to the English princess Margaret, daughter of Henry III. In virtue of the interest thus obtained, Henry interested himself officiously in the affairs of Scotland, to the great offence of the natives. He succeeded in establishing a party within Scotland in his interests, which was strongly opposed by others of the Scottish regency; and various struggles took place, in which no conclusive superiority was obtained by either party. The young king of Scots showed, even while a boy, much judgment and steadiness of character. He repeatedly visited the court of his father-in-law as an honored friend and relative; but testified while there a steady and honorable determination to transact no affairs of state, by which the honor of his country or its interests could be compromised, alleging that he could not do so without the advice of his national council. Peace was thus pre-

served, the independence of Scotland guarded from hazard, and all possibility of taking advantage of Alexander's youth and inexperience effectually averted. During one of these temporary residences in England, Queen Margaret became mother of a princess, who was named after her mother. It appears that some of these visits were made with a view to recover payment of Queen Margaret's stipulated dowry; and so poor was Henry's exchequer at the time (1263) that five hundred marks exhausted its contents; and the king of England was fain to take more distant periods to pay the remainder of the sum, being one thousand marks, still due.

Alexander III. was now a youth of twenty-two years old, fit and capable to head an army. It was well he was so, for a formidable invasion impended. This attack came from Haco, king of Norway. That warlike prince had collected a formidable fleet and army, with the determination of supporting his interest in the Hebridean islands, which had been gradually sinking under the efforts of the present king of Scotland, who pursued the policy of his father, in compelling those island lords to renounce their dependence on Norway, and hold their isles of the Scottish crown. The fleet of Haco was freighted with many thousands of those same northern warriors whose courage had been felt as irresistible on almost all the shores of Europe, and was accounted the most formidable armament that had ever sailed from Norway.

In 1263, the king of Norse, with this powerful army, arrived in the bay of Largs, near the mouth of the Clyde, and attempted to effect a landing. The weather was tempestuous, and rendered their disembarkation partial, difficult, and dangerous. The Scottish forces were on foot and prepared. The Norwegians persisted in their attempt, and Alexander and his army made equal efforts to repulse them. The Norwegian historians have not denied that their host suffered much from the sword of the enemy, though they ascribe the total discomfiture of their undertaking to the rage of the elements. The number of de-

fenders daily increased, and the efforts of the assailants diminished; and Haco, after a long and desperate perseverance in attempts to land, at last withdrew from his enterprise, and fled with his shattered navy through the strait between Skye and the mainland, which, since called Kyle Haken, still retains his name. Doubling the northern extremity of Scotland, the king of Norway, after much loss and suffering, reached the islands of Orkney, which then belonged to him, and yielding to the effects of an exhausted constitution, acted upon by the mortified ambition and wounded pride of a soldier, died there within a few weeks after his fatal disaster at Largs. In consequence of this decisive action, a treaty was entered into, by which Norway ceded to Alexander III. all islands in the western sea of Scotland, and, indeed, all lying near to that country, excepting those of Orkney and Shetland, for which resignation the Scottish king and his estates covenanted to pay four thousand marks in four several sums, and a quit-rent of one hundred marks forever.

In 1281, the league was drawn still closer by the marriage of Eric, the young king of Norway, with Margaret, daughter of Alexander III., by the English princess of that name. They had one only child, named after her mother, and called in Scottish history the Maiden of Norway, whose untimely death forms, as we shall hereafter see, a most gloomy era in Scottish history.

It is worth while to notice, that some dispute having occurred between Alexander and his clergy, the papal legate to England attempted to interfere, with the view of levying a contribution for the expense of his mission. But the king and the Scottish Church having very sagely terminated their dispute without any need of mediation, resolved, that, as the legate's commission extended to England only, he should not be permitted to enter the kingdom of Scotland or exercise authority there. In another instance, they showed the same firmness. Pope Clement the Fourth having required the Scottish ecclesiastics to pay to the king of England a

tenth part of their benefices, to aid in the expense of an intended crusade, the Scottish Church held a general council, and resisted the demand.

Scotland did not, however, escape the epidemic rage for crusades. A multitude of her bravest barons and knights went to Palestine, and perished there.

Desolation of the worst kind began to gather round Alexander III. His wife was dead. His only surviving son also died; another had not survived childhood. He had no issue remaining except the Maid of Norway, his granddaughter, a child, residing in a distant kingdom. To provide against the evils of a disputed succession, for he was still a man in the flower of life, the Scottish monarch married Joleta, daughter of the count of Dreux. Shortly after the wedding, as he pressed homeward by a precipitous road along the seacoast, near to Kinghorn, in Fife, his horse fell from a cliff, and the rider was killed.

The lamentation was universal; the consequences were anticipated as most disastrous.

> ——Old men and beldames
> Did prophesy about it dangerously.

Thomas the Rhymer, a poet and supposed prophet, is said to have predicted the calamity, under the metaphor of a tempest the most dreadful that Scotland ever witnessed. Others recalled an evil omen which occurred during the festivities of Alexander's second marriage; a spectre, representing Death, had closed a gallant procession of masks, and being perhaps presented with too shocking an approach to a real skeleton, had introduced grief and terror into the mirth and pomp of the bridal revelry. This was now construed into an omen of the intense calamity which was soon to silence the public rejoicings. The common people vented their sorrows for an excellent prince in simple but affecting lines, deploring his virtues, and anticipating the consequences of his death. But neither poet nor seer, in their most rapt and gloomy moments, could anticipate half the extent of

the calamity with which the death of Alexander was to be followed in the kingdom which he ruled.

At this remarkable point in history, we pause to contrast the condition of Scotland as it stood in 843, when Kenneth Macalpine first formed the Picts and Scots into one people, and in the year 1285, when death deprived that people of their sovereign, Alexander III.

At the earlier term we know that the manners of those descended from the Dalriads, Scoto-Irish, or pure Scots, properly so called, must have been, as they remained till a much later period, the same with those of the cognate tribes in Ireland, the land of their descent. Their constitution was purely patriarchal, the simplest and most primitive form of government. The blood of the original founder of the family was held to flow in the veins of his successive representatives, and to perpetuate in each chief the right of supreme authority over the descendants of his own line, who formed his children and subjects, as he became by right of birth their sovereign ruler and lawgiver. A nation consisted of a union of several such tribes, having a single chief chosen over them for their general direction in war, and umpire of their disputes in peace. With the family and blood of this chief of chiefs, most of the inferior chieftains claimed a connection more or less remote. This supreme chiefdom, or right of sovereignty, was hereditary, in so far as the person possessing it was chosen from the blood royal of the king deceased; but it was so far elective that any of his kinsmen might be chosen by the nation to succeed him; and, as the office of sovereign could not be exercised by a child, the choice generally fell upon a full-grown man, the brother or nephew of the deceased, instead of his son or grandson.

This uncertainty of succession, which prevailed in respect to the crown itself, while Celtic manners were predominant, proved a constant source of rebellion and bloodshed. The postponed heir, when he arose in years, was frequently desirous to attain his father's power; and many a murder was committed for the sake of rendering straight an oblique line

of succession, which such preference of an adult had thrown out of the direct course. A singular expedient was resorted to, to prevent or diminish such evils. A sort of king of the Romans, or Cæsar, was chosen as the destined successor while the sovereign chief was yet alive. He was called the Tanist, and was inaugurated during the life of the reigning king, but with maimed rites, for he was permitted to place only one foot on the fated stone of election. The monarch had little authority in the different tribes of which the kingdom was composed, unless during the time of war. In war, however, the king possessed arbitrary power; and war, foreign and domestic, was the ordinary condition of the people. This, as described by Malcolm, is the constitution of Persia at this day.

Such was the government of the Scots when the Picts, losing their own name and existence, merged into that people. It does not appear that there existed any material difference between the Pictish form of government and that of their conquerors, nor did such distinction occur in any of the other nations which came to compose the Scottish kingdom, with the exception of the Lothians. Galloway was unquestionably under the dominion of patriarchal chiefs and clans, as we know from the patronymics current to this day, of which M'Dougal, M'Culloch, M'Kie, and other races certainly not derived from the Highlands, ascend to great antiquity. Strath-Clyde was probably under the same species of government; at least, the clan system of the Celts prevailed in the south and eastern parts of the border district until the union of the crowns; and as, had it been once disused, such a species of rule could not easily have been reconstructed, we are authorized to suppose that it had flourished there since the fall of the British kingdom. There occurs a further reason why it should have been so. The clan, or patriarchal, system of government was particularly calculated for regulating a warlike and lawless country, as it provided for decision of disputes, and for the leading of the inhabitants to war, in the easiest and most simple manner

possible. The clansmen submitted to the award of the chief in peace; they followed his banner to battle; they aided him with their advice in council, and the constitution of the tribe was complete. The nature of a frontier country exposed it in a peculiar degree to sudden danger, and therefore this compendious mode of government, established there by the Britons, was probably handed down to later times, from its being specially adapted to the exigencies of the situation. But though the usage of clanship probably prevailed there, we are not prepared to show that any of the clans inhabiting the border country carry back their antiquity into the Celtic or British period. Their names declare them of more modern date.

Those various nations which we have enumerated had all a common Celtic descent; at least, it is yet unproved that the Picts were any other than the ancient Caledonians, who must of course have been Britons. Their manners were as simple as their form of government, exhibiting the vices and virtues of a barbarous state of society. They were brave, warlike, and formidable as light troops; but, armed with slender lances, unwieldy swords, and bucklers made of osiers or hides, they were ill qualified to sustain a lengthened conflict with the Norman warriors, who were regularly trained to battle, and entered it in close array and in complete armor. As other barbarians, the Celtic tribes were fickle and cruel at times, at other times capable of great kindness and generosity. Those who inhabited the mountains lived by their herds and flocks, and by the chase. The tribes who had any portion of arable ground cultivated it, under the direction of the chief, for the benefit of the community. As every clan formed the epitome of a nation within itself, plundering from each other was a species of warfare to which no disgrace was attached; and when the mountaineers sought their booty in the low country, their prey was richer, perhaps, and less stoutly defended, than when they attacked a kindred tribe of Highlanders. The lowlands were therefore chiefly harassed by their incursions.

The Picts seem to have made some progress in agriculture, and to have known something of architecture and domestic arts, which are earliest improved in the more fertile countries. But neither Scots, Picts, Galwegians, nor Strath-Clyde Britons, seem to have possessed the knowledge of writing or use of the alphabet. Three or four different nations, each subdivided into an endless variety of independent clans, tribes, and families, were ill calculated to form an independent state so powerful as to maintain its ground among other nations, or defend its liberties against an ambitious neighbor. But the fortunate acquisition of the fertile province of Lothian, including all the country between the Tweed and Forth, and the judicious measures of Malcolm Cean-mohr and his successors, formed the means of giving consistency to that which was loose, and unity to that which was discordant, in the Scottish government.

With some of that craft which induced the Scottish proprietors of the Middle Ages to erect their castles on the very verge of their own property, and opposite to the residences of their most powerful neighbors, Malcolm Cean-mohr fixed his royal residence originally at Dunfermline, and his successors removed it to Edinburgh. Berwick and Dunbar were fortified so as to offer successful opposition to an invading army; and to cross the Tweed, which, in its lower course, is seldom fordable, leaving such strengths in their rear, would have been a hazardous attempt for an English invader, unless at the head of a very considerable army. The possession of Lothian, whose population was Saxon, intermingled with Danish, introduced to the king of Scotland and his court new wants, new wishes, new arts of policy, an intercourse with other countries to which they had formerly no access, and a new language to express all these new ideas. We have noticed what willing reception Malcolm, influenced by his queen, gave to the emigrant Saxons and Normans, and the envy excited in the ancient genuine Scots by the favor extended to these strangers. All the successors of Malcolm (excepting the Hebridean savage Donald Bane) were addicted

to the same policy, and purchased knowledge in the way in which it is most honorably obtained, by benefiting and rewarding those who are capable to impart it. Of the Norman barons, generally accounted the flower of Europe, Scotland received from time to time such numerous accessions, that they may be said, with few exceptions, to form the ancestors of the Scottish nobility, and of many of the most distinguished families among the gentry; a fact so well known that it is useless to bring proof of it. These foreigners, and especially the Normans and Anglo-Normans, were superior to the native subjects of the Scottish kings, both in the arts of peace and war. They therefore naturally filled their court, and introduced into the country where they were strangers their own manners and their own laws, which in process of time extended themselves to the other races by which Scotland was inhabited.

The benefits received from this influx of foreigners, and their influence, were doubtless a main step toward civilizing Scotland; yet the immediate effect of their introduction had a tendency to the disunion of the state. It created in these lofty strangers a race of men acting upon different principles, and regarding themselves as entirely a separate race from the Celtic tribes, possessing jarring interests and discordant manners. The jealousy between these separate races was shown in the council of war previous to the battle of the standard, where Bruce, speaking of himself and his compeers, as being neither Scottish nor English, but Norman barons, upbraided David for bringing out against a chivalrous race which had rendered him such services the wild ferocity and uncertain faith of the Scottish tribes; while, on the other hand, Malise, earl of Stratherne, reproached the same monarch for trusting more to the mail and spear of Norman strangers than the undaunted courage of his native soldiers.

This intermixture gave a miscellaneous, and, in so far, an incoherent appearance to the inhabitants of Scotland at this period. They seemed not so much to constitute one

state as a confederacy of tribes of different origin. Thus the charters of King David and his successors are addressed to all his subjects, French and English, Scottish and Galwegian. The manners, the prejudices of so many mixed races, corrected or neutralized each other; and the moral blending together of nations led in time, like some chemical mixture, to fermentation and subsequent purity. This was forwarded with the best intentions, though perhaps over-hastily, and in so far injudiciously, by the efforts of the Scottish kings, who, from Malcolm Cean-mohr's time to that of Alexander III., appear to have been a race of as excellent monarchs as ever swayed sceptre over a rude people. They were prudent in their schemes, and fortunate in the execution; and the exceptions occasioned by the death of Malcolm III. and the captivity of William can only be imputed to chivalrous rashness, the fault of the age. They were unwearied in their exercise of justice, which, in the more remote corners of Scotland, could only be done at the head of an army; and even where the task was devolved upon the sheriffs and vice-sheriffs of counties, the execution of it required frequent inspection by the king and his high justiciaries, who made circuits for that purpose. The rights of landed property began to be arranged in most of the lowland counties upon the feudal system then universal in Europe, and so far united Scotland with the general system of civilization.

The language which was generally used in Scotland, came at length to be English, as the speech of Lothian, the most civilized province of the kingdom, and the readiest in which they could hold communication with their neighbors. It must have been introduced gradually, as is evident from the numerous Celtic words retained in old statutes and charters, and rendered general by its being the only language used in writing.

We know there was at least one poem composed in English, by a Scottish author, which excited the attention of contemporaries. It is a metrical romance on the subject of Sir Tristrem, by Thomas of Erceldone, who composed it

in such "quaint Inglish" as common minstrels could hardly understand or recite by heart. If we may judge of this work from the comparatively modern copy which remains, the style of the composition, brief, nervous, figurative, and concise almost to obscurity, resembles the Norse or Anglo-Saxon poetry more than that of the English minstrels, whose loose, prolix, and trivial mode of composition is called by Chaucer's Host of the Tabard, "drafty rhiming." The structure of the stanza in Sir Tristrem is also very peculiar, elliptical, and complicated, seeming to verify the high eulogy of a poet nearly contemporary, "that it is the best geste ever was or ever would be made, if minstrels could recite as the author had composed it." On the contrary, the elegiac ballad on Alexander III., already mentioned, differs only from modern English in the mode of spelling.

Besides the general introduction of the English language, which spread itself gradually, doubtless, through the more civilized part of the lowlands, the Norman-French was also used at court, which, as we learn from the names of witnesses to royal charters, foundations, etc., was the resort of these foreign nobles. It was also adopted as the language of the coronation oath, which shows it was the speech of the nobles, while the version in Latin seems to have been made for the use of the clergy. The Norman-French also, as specially adapted to express feudal stipulations, was frequently applied to law proceedings.

The political constitution of Scotland had not as yet arranged itself under any peculiar representative form. The king acted by the advice, and sometimes under the control, of a great feudal council, or *cour pleniere*, to which vassals in chief of the crown and a part of the clergy were summoned. But there was no representation of the third estate. There was, notwithstanding, the spirit of freedom in the government; and though the institutions for its preservation were not yet finished in that early age, the great council failed not to let their voice be heard when the sovereign fell into political errors. We have already noticed that

the liberties of the Church were defended with a spirit of independence hardly equalled in any other state of Europe at the time.

The useful arts began to be cultivated. The nobles and gentry sheltered themselves in towers built in strong natural positions. Their skill in architecture, however, could not be extensive, since the construction of a handsome arch, even in Alexander the Third's time, could only be accounted for by magic;[1] and the few stately castellated edifices of an early date which remain in Scotland are to be ascribed to the English, during their brief occupation of that country.

Scotland enjoyed, during this period, a more extensive trade than historians have been hitherto aware of. Money was current in the country, and the payment of considerable sums, as ten thousand marks to Richard I., and on other occasions, was accomplished without national distress. The Scottish military force was respectable, since, according to Matthew Paris, Alexander II. was enabled, in 1244, to face the power of England with a thousand horse, well armed and tolerably mounted, though not on Spanish or Italian horses, and nigh to one hundred thousand infantry, all determined to live or die with their sovereign.

The household of the Scottish king was filled with the usual number of feudal officers, and there was an affectation of splendor in the royal establishment, which even the humility of the sainted Queen Margaret did not discourage. She and her husband used at meals vessels of gold and silver plate, or at least, says the candid Turgot, such as were lacquered over so as to have that appearance. Even in the early days of Alexander I., that monarch (with a generosity similar to that of the lover who presented his bride with a case of razors, as what he himself most prized) munifi-

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[1] It is to be seen in the ruins of the castle of the Marquis of Tweedale's park at Yester. Fordun says, it was framed arte quadam magica, and was called Bo-hall, that is, Hobgoblin-hall. I presume the magic consisted in the art of casting an arch, as the vault, which still exists, has nothing else that is remarkable.

cently bestowed on the church of Saint Andrew's an Arabian steed covered with rich caparisons, and a suit of armor ornamented with silver and precious stones, all which he brought to the high altar, and solemnly devoted to the church.

Berwick enjoyed the privileges of a free port; and under Alexander III. the customs of that single Scottish port amounted to £2,197 8*s.*, while those of all England only made up the sum of £8,411 19*s.* 11½*d.* An ancient historian terms that town a second Alexandria.

Lastly, we may notice that the soil was chiefly cultivated by bondmen; but the institution of royal boroughs had begun considerably to ameliorate the condition of the inferior orders.

Such was the condition of Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century; but we only recognize laws and institutions in those parts of the kingdom to which the king's immediate authority and the influence of the more modern system and manners extended. This was exclusive of the whole Highlands and isles, of Galloway, and Strath-Clyde, till these two last provinces were totally melted into the general mass of lowland or Scoto-Saxon civilization; and probably the northern provinces of Caithness and Moray were also beyond the limits of regular government. In other words, the improved system prevailed, in whole or in part, only where men, from comparative wealth and convenience of situation, had been taught to prefer the benefits of civilized government to the ferocious and individual freedom of a savage state. The mountaineers, as they did not value the protection of a more regular order of law, despised and hated its restraint. They continued to wear the dress, wield the arms, and observe the institutions or customs of their Celtic fathers. They acknowledged, indeed, generally speaking, the paramount superiority of the kings of Scotland; but many of their high chiefs, such as Macdonell of the isles, Macdougal of Lorn, Roland of Galloway, and others, longed for independence, and frequently attempted to assert it. The

king, on the other hand, could only exercise his authority in these remote districts directly by marching into them with his army, or indirectly by availing himself of their domestic quarrels, and instigating one chief to the destruction of another. In either case he might be the terror, but could never be esteemed the protector, of this primitive race of his subjects, the first, and for many years the only tribes over whom his fathers possessed any sway. And thus commenced, and was handed down for many an age, the distinction between the Celtic Scot and the Scoto-Saxon, the Highlander, in short, and Lowlander, which is still distinctly marked by the difference of language, and was in the last generation more strongly apparent by the distinction of manners, dress, and even laws.

Such was the singular state of Scotland, divided between two separate races, one of which had attained a considerable degree of civilization, and the other remained still nearly in a state of nature, when the death of Alexander III. exposed the nation to the risk of annihilation as an independent people and kingdom.

CHAPTER VI

Schemes of Edward I.—Death of the Maid of Norway—John Baliol: his War with England; and his Defeat at Dunbar, and Dethronement

BY the untimely decease of Alexander III., in 1290, the Maid of Norway, his granddaughter, remained sole and undoubted heir to the throne. Edward I. of England, the near relation of the orphan queen, instantly formed the project of extending his regal sway over the northern part of Britain by a marriage between this royal heiress and his only son, Edward, prince of Wales. The barons of Scotland testified no dislike to this alliance, the most natural mode, perhaps, to effect a union between two kingdoms which nature had joined, though untoward events had separated them. The great nobles of that country were, we have seen, Normans as well as the English lords: many held land in both kingdoms; and therefore the idea of an alliance with England was not at that time so unpopular as it afterward became, when long and bloody wars had rendered the nations irreconcilable enemies. The Scottish took, on the other hand, the most jealous precautions that all the rights and immunities of Scotland, as a separate kingdom, should be upheld and preserved; that Scottishmen born should not be called to answer in England for deeds done in their own country; that the national records should be suffered to remain within the realm; and that no aids of money or levies of troops should be demanded, unless in such cases as were warranted by former usage. These preliminaries were settled between King Edward and a convention of the Scottish estates, held at Birgham, July, 1290. Edward promised all this, and swore to his promise; but an

urgent proposal that he should be put in possession of all the Scottish castles alarmed the estates of Scotland, as affording too much cause to doubt whether oath or promise would be much regarded.

In the meantime Margaret, the young heiress of Scotland, died on her voyage to Scotland. A new scene now opened; for by this event the descendants of Alexander III., on whom the crown had been settled in 1284, were altogether extinguished, and the kingdom lay open to the claim of every one, or any one, who could show a collateral connection, however remote, with the royal family of Scotland.

Many pretensions to the throne were accordingly set up; but the chief were those of two great lords of Norman extraction, Robert Bruce and John Baliol. The former of these was lord of Galloway, the latter of Annandale in Scotland. Their rights of succession stood thus.

William the Lion had a brother David, created Earl of Huntingdon, who left three daughters: namely, first, Margaret, married to Alan, lord of Galloway; second, Isabella, to Robert Bruce of Annandale; third, Ada, to Henry Hastings. John Baliol claimed the kingdom as the son of Devorgoil, daughter of Margaret, the eldest daughter of David; Bruce, on the other hand, claimed, as the son of Isabella, the second daughter, pretending that he was thus nearer by one generation to Earl David, through whom both the competitors claimed their relationship. The question simply was, whether the right of succession which David of Huntingdon might have claimed while alive descended to his grandson Baliol, or was to be held as passing to Bruce, who, though the son of the younger sister, was one degree nearer to the person from whom he claimed, being only the grandson, while Baliol was the great-grandson of Earl David, their common ancestor. Modern lawyers would at once pronounce in Baliol's favor; but the precise nature of representation had not then been fixed in Scotland.

Both barons resolved to support their plea with arms. Many other claims, more or less specious, were brought

forward. The country of Scotland was divided and subdivided into factions; and in the rage of approaching civil war, Edward I. saw the moment when that claim of paramount superiority which had been so pertinaciously adhered to by the English monarchs, though as uniformly refuted by the Scottish, might be brought forward as the means of finally assuming the direct sway of the kingdom. He showed the extent of his ambitious and unjust purpose to his most trusty counsellors. "I will subdue Scotland to my authority," he said, "as I have subdued Wales."

The English monarch, one of the ablest generals and the most subtle and unhesitating politicians of his own or any other time, assembled an army on the borders, and communicated to the clergy and nobles of Scotland a peremptory demand, that, as lord paramount of the kingdom, he should be received and universally submitted to as sole arbiter in the competition for the crown.

If immediate feuds and quarrels could have permitted the Scottish magnates to see more distant consequences, it is probable that with one voice they would have resisted this demand by an express denial of the right of supremacy, which, though a claim to it had been often both insidiously and covertly and more openly brought forward, had always been repelled and resisted by the Scottish kings, except after the treaty of Falaise, in 1174, when the supremacy was distinctly surrendered, until 1189, when the right was renounced, on payment of a sum of money, by Richard I. But split into a thousand factions, while twelve competitors were struggling for the crown, even the best and most prudent of the Scots seem to have thought it better to submit to the award of one of the wisest and most powerful monarchs of Europe, although at some sacrifice of independence, which they might regard as temporary and almost nominal, than to expose the country at once to civil war and the arms of England.

The Scottish barons might also remember how lately they had been disposed, by the treaty of marriage between the English prince of Wales and their sovereign Margaret, to

place their kingdom under the protection of England, a step little dissimilar from that now proposed by the English monarch. The nobility of Scotland therefore admitted Edward's claim, and accepted his arbitration. Twelve competitors stepped forward to assert their claims; and Edward, though he stated a right to the kingdom on his own part, as to a vacant fief which reverts to the sovereign, yet waived his claim with a species of affected moderation. Unquestionably his views were better served by dealing the cards, and sitting umpire of the game, than if he had mixed with the players. And there is little doubt that, far from desirous to insist on a claim which would have united all the competitors against him, he was sparing of no art which could embroil the question, by multiplying the number of claimants, and exasperating them against each other.

In 1292, the candidates, called upon to that effect, solemnly acknowledged Edward's right as lord paramount of Scotland, and submitted their claims to his decision. We shall endeavor to explain hereafter why these Norman nobles were not unwilling to consent to a submission which, as children of the soil, they would probably have spurned at. The strengths and fortresses of the kingdom were put into the king of England's power, to enable him to support, it was pretended, the award he should pronounce. After these operations had lasted several months, to accustom the Scots to the view of English governors and garrisons in their castles, and to disable them from resisting a foreign force, by the continued disunion which must have increased and become the more embittered the longer the debate was in dependence, Edward I. preferred John Baliol to the Scottish crown, to be held of him and his successors, and surrendered to him the Scottish castles of which he held possession, being twenty in number.

Edward's conduct had hitherto been sufficiently selfish, but, perhaps, not beyond what many prudent persons would permit themselves to consider as just. His pretence to the supremacy, however ill-founded, was no invention of his

own, but handed down to him as a right which his ancestors had claimed from a very distant period; and as a time had now arrived when the Scottish were prevailed upon to admit it on their side, most sovereigns would have thought it an opportunity not to be sacrificed to the barren considerations of abstract justice.

But it was soon evident that the admission of the supremacy was only a part of Edward's object, and that he was determined so to use his right over Baliol as might force either him or Scotland into rebellion, and give the lord paramount a pretence to seize the revolted fief into his own hand. In order to accomplish this, the king of England encouraged vexatious lawsuits against Baliol, for compelling his frequent and humiliating appearance as a suitor in the English courts of law. A private citizen of Berwick having appealed from a judgment of the commissioners of justice in Scotland, of which that town was then accounted part, Baliol, on this occasion, remonstrated against the appeal being entertained, reminding Edward that, by the conditions sworn to at Birgham, it was strictly covenanted that no Scottish subject should be called in an English court, for acts done in Scotland. Edward replied, with haughty indifference and effrontery, that such a promise was made to suit the convenience of the time, and that no such engagements could prevent his calling into his courts the Scottish king himself, if he should see cause. His vassal, he said, should not be his conscience-keeper, to enjoin him penance for broken faith; nor would he, for any promise he had made to the Scots while treating of his son's marriage with Margaret, refrain from distributing the justice which every subject had a right to require at his hands. Baliol could only make peace with his imperious master, by yielding up, in 1293, all stipulations and promises concerning the freedom and immunities of Scotland, and admitting them to be discharged and annulled.

Soon after this, Duncan, the earl of Fife, being a minor, Macduff, his grand-uncle, made a temporary seizure of some part of the earldom. Macduff being summoned to answer

this offence before the Scottish estates, was condemned by Baliol to a slight imprisonment. Released from his confinement, Macduff summoned Baliol to appear before Edward, and Edward directed that the Scottish king should answer by appearance in person before him. He came, but refused to plead. The Parliament of England decreed that Baliol was liable to Macduff in damages, and, for his contumacy in refusing to plead before his lord paramount, declared that three principal towns in Scotland, with their castles, should be taken into the custody of Edward until the king of Scots should make satisfaction. Severe and offensive regulations were laid down concerning the Scottish king's regular attendance in future on the courts of his suzerain in England. In a word, Baliol was made sensible that though he might be suffered for a time to wear sceptre and crown, it was but so long as he should consider himself a mere tool in the hands of a haughty and arbitrary superior, who was determined to fling him aside on the first opportunity, and to put every species of slight and dishonor on his right of delegated majesty, till he should become impatient of enduring it. The Scottish king therefore determined to extricate himself from so degrading a position, and to free himself and his country from the thraldom of a foreign usurper.

The time seemed apt to the purpose, for discord had arisen between the realms of France and England, concerning some feudal rights in which Edward had shown himself as intractable and disobedient a vassal to Philip of France, as he was a severe and domineering superior to Baliol.

Catching this favorable opportunity, Baliol formed, in 1295, a secret treaty of alliance with France, and stood upon his defence. The Scottish nobles joined him in the purpose of resistance, but declined to place Baliol at the head of the preparations which they made for national defence: and having no confidence either in his wisdom or steadiness, they detained him in a kind of honorable captivity in a distant castle, placing their levies under the command of leaders whose patriotism was considered less doubtful.

In 1296, Edward put himself at the head of four thousand horse and thirty thousand infantry, the finest soldiers in Europe, and proceeded toward Northumberland. Anthony Beck, the military bishop of Durham, joined the royal host with a large body of troops. They besieged the town of Berwick, and took it by storm, though gallantly defended. Upward of seventeen thousand of the defenceless inhabitants were slain in the massacre which followed, and the town (a very wealthy one) was entirely plundered. A body of thirty Flemish merchants held a strong building in the town, called the Redhall, by the tenure of defending it against the English: they did so to the last, and honorably perished amid the ruins of the edifice.

Bruce the Competitor, the Earl of March, and other Scottish nobles of the south, joined with King Edward, instead of opposing him. The first of these vainly flattered himself that the dethronement of Baliol might be succeeded by his own nomination to the crown, when it should be declared vacant by his rival's forfeiture; and Edward seemed to encourage these hopes. While the English king was still at Berwick, the Abbot of Aberbrothock appeared before him with a letter from Baliol, in answer to Edward's summons to him to appear in person, renouncing his vassalage, and expressing defiance. "The foolish traitor!" said the king, "what frenzy has seized him? But since he will not come to us, we will go to him."

Edward's march northward was stopped by the strong castle of Dunbar, which was held out against him by the Countess of March, who had joined the lords that declared for the cause of independence, although the earl, her husband, was serving in the English army: so much were the Scots divided on this momentous occasion. While Edward pressed the siege of this important place, the inner gate, as it might be termed, of Scotland, a large force appeared on the descent of the ridge of the Lammermoor hills, above the town. It was the Scottish army moving to the relief of Dunbar, and on the appearance of their banners the defend-

ers raised a shout of exultation and defiance. But when Warrenne, earl of Surrey, Edward's general, advanced toward the Scottish army, the Scots, with a rashness which often ruined their affairs before and afterward, poured down from the advantageous post which they occupied, and incurred by their temerity a dreadful defeat, which laid the whole country open to the invader.

Bruce, after the victory of Dunbar, conceived his turn of triumph was approaching, and hinted to Edward his hope of being preferred to the throne which Baliol had forfeited. "Have we no other business," said Edward, looking at him askance, "than to conquer kingdoms for you?" Bruce retired, and meddled no more with public affairs, in which his grandson, at a later period, took a part so distinguished.

After the battle of Dunbar, scarce a spark of resistance to Edward seemed to enlighten the general despair. The English army continued an unresisted march as far northward as Aberdeen and Elgin. Baliol, brought before his victor, in the castle of Brechin, was literally stripped of his royal robes, confessed his feudal transgression in rebelling against his lord paramount, and made a formal surrender of his kingdom to the victor.

The king of England held a parliament at Berwick, in 1296, where he received the willing and emulous submission of Scottishmen of the higher ranks, lords, knights, and squires. Edward received them all graciously, and took measures for assuring his conquest. He created John Warrenne, earl of Surrey, guardian of Scotland. Hugh Cressingham, an ambitious churchman, was made treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary of the kingdom. He placed English governors and garrisons in the Scottish castles, and returned to England, having achieved an easy and apparently a permanent conquest.

This was not all. Edward resolved so to improve his conquest as to eradicate all evidence of national independence. He carried off or mutilated such records as might awaken the recollection that Scotland had ever been free.

The cartulary of Scone, the place where, since the conquest of Kenneth Macalpine, the Scottish kings had been crowned, was carefully ransacked for the purpose of destroying whatever might be found at variance with the king of England's pretensions. The Scottish historians have, perhaps, magnified the extent of this rapine; but that Edward was desirous to remove everything which could remind the Scots of their original independence is proved by his carrying to London, not only the crown and sceptre surrendered by Baliol, but even the sacred stone on which the Scottish monarchs were placed when they received the royal inauguration. He presented these trophies to the Cathedral of Westminster.

This fatal stone, as already mentioned, was said to have been brought from Ireland by Fergus, the son of Eric, who led the Dalriads to the shores of Argyleshire. Its virtues are preserved in the celebrated leonine verse:

> Ni fallat fatum, Scoti, quocunque locatum
> Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.

Which may be rendered thus:

> Unless the fates are faithless found,
> And prophets' voice be vain,
> Where'er this monument is found,
> The Scottish race shall reign.

There were Scots who hailed the accomplishment of this prophecy at the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, and exulted, that, in removing this palladium, the policy of Edward resembled that which brought the Trojan horse in triumph within their walls, and which occasioned the destruction of their royal family. The stone is still preserved, and forms the support of King Edward the Confessor's chair, which the sovereign occupies at his coronation, and, independent of the divination so long in being accomplished, is in itself a very curious remnant of extreme antiquity.

CHAPTER VII

Interregnum—Causes of the National Misfortunes of Scotland—Indifference of the Norman Barons—Sir William Wallace—Battle of Stirling—Wallace chosen Governor of Scotland—Edward invades Scotland—Battle of Falkirk—Death of Wallace

THE unanimous subjection of a proud and brave nation to a foreign conqueror is too surprising to be dismissed without remark, especially since it was so general that most of the noble and ancient families of Scotland are reduced to the necessity of tracing their ancestors' names in the fifty-six sheets of parchment which constitute the degrading roll of submission to Edward I. It must be generally allowed that men of property, who have much to lose, are more likely to submit to tyranny and invasion than the poor peasant, who has but his knife and his mantle, and whose whole wealth is his individual share in the freedom and independence of the nation. But this will scarce account for the marks of vacillation and apostasy too visible in the Scottish nobility of this period, in these days of chivalry, when men piqued themselves on holding life in mean regard compared to the slightest and most punctilious point of honor. The following circumstances here suggest themselves in explanation of the remarkable fact.

The nobility of Scotland during the civil wars had, by the unvarying policy of Malcolm Cean-mohr and his successors, come to consist almost entirely of a race foreign to the country, who were not bound to it or to the people by those kindred ties which connect the native with the soil he inhabits, as the same which has been for ages perhaps the abode of his fathers. Two or three generations had not converted Normans into Scots; and, whatever allegiance the emigrated

strangers might yield to the monarchs who bestowed on them their fiefs, it must have been different from the sentiments of filial attachment with which men regard the land of their birth and that of their ancestors, and the princes by whose fathers their own had been led to battle, and with whom they had shared conquest and defeat.

In fact, the Normans were neither by birth nor manners rendered accessible to the emotions which constitute patriotism. Their ancestors were those Scandinavians who left without reluctance their native north in search of better settlements, and spread their sails to the winds, like the voluntary exile of modern times, little caring to what shores they were wafted, so that they were not driven back to their own. The education of the Normans of the thirteenth century had not inculcated that love of a natal soil, which they could not learn from their roving fathers of the preceding ages. They were, above all nations, devoted to chivalry, and its doctrines and habits were unfavorable to local attachment. The ideal perfection of the knight-errant was to wander from land to land in quest of adventures, to win renown, to gain earldoms, kingdoms, nay, empires, by the sword, and to sit down a settler on his acquisitions, without looking back to the land which gave him life. This indifference to his native country was taught the aspirant to the honors of chivalry, by early separation of the ties which bind youth to their parents and families. The progress of his military education separated him when a boy from his parents' house, and sending him to learn the institutions of chivalry in the court of some foreign prince or lord, early destroyed those social ties which bind a man to his family and birthplace. When dubbed knight, the gallant bachelor found a home in every tourney or battlefield, and a settlement in whatever kingdom of the world valor was best rewarded. The true knight-errant was, therefore, a cosmopolite—a citizen of the world: every soil was his country, and he was indifferent to feelings and prejudices which promote in others patriotic attachment to a particular country.

The feudal system also, though the assertion may at first sight appear strange, had, until fiefs were rendered hereditary, circumstances unfavorable to loyalty and patriotism. A vassal might, and often did, hold fiefs in more realms than one; a division of allegiance tending to prevent the sense of duty or loyal attachment running strongly in any of their single channels. Nay, he might, and many did, possess fiefs depending on the separate kings of France, England, and Scotland; and thus being, to a certain extent, the subject of all these princes, he could hardly look on any of them with peculiar attachment, unless it were created by personal respect or preference. When war broke out between any of the princes whom he depended upon, the feudatory debated with himself to which standard he should adhere, and shook himself clear of his allegiance to the other militant power by resigning the fief. The possibility of thus changing country and masters, this habit of serving a prince only so long as the vassal held fief under him, led to loose and irregular conceptions on the subject of loyalty, and gave the feudatory more the appearance of a mercenary who serves for pay than of a patriot fighting in defence of his country. This consequence may be drawn from the frequent compliances and change of parties visible in the Scottish barons, and narrated without much censure by the historians. Lastly, the reader may observe that the great feudatories, who seemed to consider themselves as left to choose to which monarch they should attach themselves, were less regardful of the rights of England and Scotland, or of foreigners and native princes, than of the personal talents and condition of the two kings. In attaching themselves to Edward instead of Baliol, the high vassals connected themselves with valor instead of timidity, wealth instead of poverty, and conquest instead of defeat. Such indifference to the considerations arising from patriotism and such individual attention to their own interest being the characteristic of the Scoto-Norman nobles, it is no wonder that many of them took but a lukewarm share in

the defence of their country, and that some of them were guilty of shameful versatility during the quickly-changing scenes which we are about to narrate. It was different with the Scottish nation at large.

Exasperated by the contumely thrown on the country, by the aggressions of the English garrisons, and the extortions of Cressingham the treasurer, a general hatred of the English yoke was manifested through a people, who, being in a semi-barbarous state, were willing enough to exchange a disgraceful submission for an honorable though desperate warfare. The Scots assembled in troops and companies, and betaking themselves to the woods, mountains, and morasses, in which their fathers had defended themselves against the Romans, prepared for a general insurrection against the English power.

If the Scoto-Norman nobles had lightly transferred their allegiance to Edward, it was otherwise with the middle and lower proprietors, who, sprung of the native race of Scotland, mingling in the condition of the people, and participating in their feeling, burned with zeal to avenge themselves on the English, who were in usurped possession of their national fortresses. As soon as Edward with his army had crossed the frontiers, they broke out into a number of petty insurrections, unconnected indeed, but sufficiently numerous to indicate a disposition for hostilities, which wanted but a leader to render it general. They found one in Sir William Wallace.

This champion of his country was of Anglo-Norman descent, but not so distinguished by birth and fortune as to enjoy high rank, great wealth, or participate in that chilling indifference to the public honor and interest which these advantages were apt to create in their possessor. He was born in Renfrewshire, a district of the ancient kingdom of Strath-Clyde, and his nurse may have soothed him with tales and songs of the Welsh bards, as there is room to suppose that the British language was still lingering in remote corners of the country, where it had been once universal.

At any rate, Wallace was bred up free from the egotistic and selfish principles which are but too natural to the air of a court, and peculiarly unfavorable to the character of a patriot. Popular Scottish tradition, which delights to dwell upon the beloved champion of the people, describes William Wallace as of dignified stature, unequalled strength and dexterity, and so brave that only on one occasion, and then under the influence of a supernatural power, is he allowed by tradition to have experienced the sensation of fear.

Wallace is believed to have been proclaimed an outlaw for the slaughter of an Englishman in a casual fray. He retreated to the woods, collected round him a band of men as desperate as himself, and obtained several successes in skirmishes with the English. Joined by Sir William Douglas, in 1297, who had been taken at the siege of Berwick, but had been discharged upon ransom, the insurgents compelled Edward to send an army against them, under the Earl of Surrey, the victor of Dunbar. Several of the nobility, moved by Douglas's example, had joined Wallace's standard; but overawed at the approach of the English army, and displeased to act under a man, like Wallace, of comparatively obscure birth, they capitulated with Sir Henry Percy, the nephew of Surrey, and, in one word, changed sides. Wallace kept the field at the head of a considerable army, partly consisting of his own experienced followers, partly of the smaller barons or crown tenants, and partly of vassals even of the apostate lords, and volunteers of every condition. By the exertion of much conduct and resolution, Wallace had made himself master of the country beyond Forth, and taken several castles, when he was summoned to Stirling to oppose Surrey, the English governor of Scotland. Wallace encamped on the northern side of the river, leaving Stirling bridge apparently open to the English, but resolving, as it was long and narrow, to attack them while in the act of crossing. The Earl of Surrey led fifty thousand infantry, and a thousand men-at-arms. Part of his soldiers, however, were the Scottish barons who had formerly joined

Wallace's standard, and who, notwithstanding their return to that of Surrey, were scarcely to be trusted to.

The English treasurer, Cressingham, murmured at the expense attending the war, and to bring it to a crisis, proposed to commence an attack the next morning by crossing the river. Surrey, an experienced warrior, hesitated to engage his troops in the defile of a wooden bridge, where scarce two horsemen could ride abreast; but, urged by the imprudent vehemence of Cressingham, he advanced, contrary to common sense, as well as to his own judgment. The vanguard of the English was attacked before they could get into order; the bridge was broken down, and thousands perished in the river and by the sword. Cressingham was slain, and Surrey fled to Berwick on the spur, to recount to Edward that Scotland was lost at Stirling in as short a time as it had been won at Dunbar. In a brief period after this victory, almost all the fortresses of the kingdom surrendered to Wallace.

Increasing his forces, Wallace, that he might gratify them with plunder, led them across the English border, and sweeping it lengthwise from Newcastle to the gates of Carlisle, left nothing behind him but blood and ashes. The nature of Wallace was fierce, but not inaccessible to pity or remorse. As his unruly soldiers pillaged the church of Hexham, he took the canons under his immediate protection. "Abide with me," he said, "holy men; for my people are evil-doers, and I may not correct them."

When he returned from this successful foray, an assembly of the states was held at the Forest church in Selkirkshire, where Wallace was chosen guardian of the kingdom of Scotland. The meeting was attended by Lennox, Sir William Douglas, and some few men of rank: others were absent from fear of King Edward, or from jealousy of an inferior person, like Wallace, raised to so high a station.

Conscious of the interest which he had deservedly maintained in the breast of the universal people of Scotland, Wallace pursued his judicious plans of enforcing general

levies through the kingdom, and bringing them under discipline. It was full time, for Edward was moving against them.

The English monarch was absent in Flanders when these events took place, and what was still more inconvenient, before he could gain supplies from his Parliament to suppress the Scottish revolt, Edward found himself obliged to confirm Magna Charta, the charter of the forest, and other stipulations in favor of the people; the English being prudently though somewhat selfishly disposed to secure their own freedom before they would lend their swords to destroy that of their neighbors.

Complying with these demands, Edward, on his return from the Low Countries, found himself at the head of a gallant muster of all the English chivalry, forming by far the most superb army that had ever entered Scotland. Wallace acted with great sagacity, and, according to a plan which often before and after proved successful in Scottish warfare, laid waste the intermediate country between Stirling and the frontiers, and withdrew toward the centre of the kingdom to receive the English attack, when their army should be exhausted by privation.

Edward pressed on, with characteristic hardihood and resolution. Tower and town fell before him: but his advance was not without such inconvenience and danger as a less determined monarch would have esteemed a good apology for retreat. His army suffered from want of provisions, which were at length supplied in small quantities by some of his ships. As the English king lay at Kirkliston, in West Lothian, a tumult broke out between the Welsh and English in his army, which, after costing some blood, was quelled with difficulty. While Edward hesitated whether to advance or retreat, he learned, through the treachery of two apostate Scottish nobles (the Earls of Dunbar and Angus) that Wallace, with the Scottish army, had approached so near as Falkirk. This advance was doubtless made with the purpose of annoying the expected retreat of the English.

Edward, thus apprised that the Scots were in his vicinity, determined to compel them to action. He broke up his camp, and, advancing with caution, slept the next night in the fields along with the soldiers. But the casualties of the campaign were not yet exhausted. His war-horse, which was picketed beside him, like that of an ordinary man-at-arms, struck the king with his foot, and hurt him in the side. A tumult arose in the camp; but Edward, regardless of pain, appeased it by mounting his horse, riding through the cantonments, and showing the soldiers that he was in safety.

Next morning, July 22, 1298, the armies met. The Scottish infantry were drawn up on a moor, with a morass in front. They were divided into four phalanxes or dense masses, with lances lowered obliquely over each other, and seeming, says an English historian, like a castle walled with steel. These spearmen were the flower of the army, in whom Wallace chiefly confided. He commanded them in person, and used the brief exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring; dance as you best can."

The Scottish archers, under the command of Sir John Stewart, brother of the steward of Scotland, were drawn up in the intervals between the masses of infantry. They were chiefly brought from the wooded district of Selkirk. We hear of no Highland bowmen among them. The cavalry, which only amounted to one thousand men-at-arms, held the rear.

The English cavalry began the action. The marshal of England led half of the men-at-arms straight upon the Scottish front, but in doing so involved them in the morass. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the other division of the English cavalry, was wheeling round the morass on the east, and perceiving this misfortune, because disposed to wait for support. "To mass, bishop!" said Ralph Basset of Drayton, and charged with the whole body. The Scottish men-at-arms went off without couching their lances; but the infantry stood their ground firmly. In the turmoil that fol-

lowed, Sir John Stewart fell from his horse, and was slain among the archers of Ettricke, who died in defending or avenging him. The close bodies of Scottish spearmen, now exposed without means of defence or retaliation, were shaken by the constant showers of arrows; and the English men-at-arms finally charging them desperately while they were in disorder, broke and dispersed these formidable masses. The Scots were then completely routed, and it was only the neighboring woods which saved a remnant from the sword. The body of Stewart was found among those of his faithful archers, who were distinguished by their stature and fair complexions from all others with which the field was loaded. Macduff and Sir John the Grahame, "the hardy wight and wise," still fondly remembered as the bosom friend of Sir William Wallace, were slain in the same disastrous action.

Popular report states this battle to have been lost by treachery; and the communication between the Earls of Dunbar and Angus and King Edward, as well as the disgraceful flight of the Scottish cavalry without a single blow, corroborates the suspicion. But the great superiority of the English in archery may account for the loss of this as of many another battle on the part of the Scots. The bowmen of Ettricke forest were faithful; but they could only be few. So nearly had Wallace's scheme for the campaign been successful that Edward, even after having gained this great battle, returned to England, and deferred reaping the harvest of his conquest till the following season. If he had not been able to bring the Scottish army to action, his retreat must have been made with discredit and loss, and Scotland must have been left in the power of the patriots.

The slaughter and disgrace of the battle of Falkirk might have been repaired in other respects; but it cost the Scottish kingdom an irredeemable loss in the public services of Wallace. He resigned the guardianship of the kingdom, unable to discharge its duties, amid the calumnies with which faction and envy aggravated his defeat. The bishop of St.

Andrew's, Bruce, earl of Carrick, and Sir John Comyn, were chosen guardians of Scotland, which they administered in the name of Baliol. In the meantime, that unfortunate prince was, in compassion or scorn, delivered up to the pope by Edward, and a receipt was gravely taken for his person from the nuncio then in France. This led to the entrance of a new competitor for the Scottish kingdom.

The pontiff of Rome had been long endeavoring to establish a claim, as if he had been lord of the manor of all Christendom, to whatsoever should be therein found, to which a distinct and specific right of property could not be ascertained. His claim to the custody of the dethroned king being readily admitted, Boniface VIII. was encouraged to publish a bull, claiming Scotland as a dependency on the see of Rome, because the country had been converted to Christianity by the relics of St. Andrew, although how the premises authorized the conclusion it is difficult to discover. The pope in the same document took the claim of Edward to the Scottish crown under his own discussion, and authoritatively commanded Edward I. to send proctors to Rome, to plead his cause before his holiness. This magisterial requisition was presented by the archbishop of Canterbury to the king, in the presence of the council and court, the prelate at the same time warning the sovereign to yield unreserved obedience, since Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and Mount Zion her worshippers. "Neither for Zion nor Jerusalem," said Edward, in towering wrath, "will I depart from my just rights, while there is breath in my nostrils." Accordingly he caused the pope's bull to be laid before the Parliament of England, who unanimously resolved, "that in temporals the king of England was independent of Rome, and that they would not permit his sovereignty to be questioned." Their declaration concludes with these remarkable words: "We neither do, will, nor can permit our sovereign to do anything to the detriment of the constitution which we are both sworn to, and are determined to maintain." A spirited assertion of national right,

had it not been in so bad a cause as that of Edward's claim of usurpation over Scotland.

Meantime the war languished during this strange discussion, from which the pope was soon obliged to retreat. There was an inefficient campaign in 1299 and 1300. In 1301 there was a truce, in which Scotland as well as France was included. After the expiry of this breathing space, Edward I., in the spring of 1302, sent an army into Scotland of twenty thousand men, under Sir John Seward, a renowned general. He marched toward Edinburgh in three divisions, leaving large intervals between each. While in this careless order, Seward's vanguard found themselves suddenly within reach of a small but chosen body of troops, amounting to eight thousand men, commanded by Sir John Comyn, the guardian, and a gallant Scotch knight, Sir Simon Fraser. Seward was defeated; but the battle was scarce over when his second division came up. The Scots, flushed with victory, re-established their ranks, and having cruelly put to death their prisoners, attacked and defeated the second body also. The third division came up in the same manner. Again it became necessary to kill the captives, and to prepare for a third encounter. The Scottish leaders did so without hesitation, and their followers having thrown themselves furiously on the enemy, discomfited that division likewise, and gained, as their historians boast, three battles in one day.

But the period seemed to be approaching in which neither courage nor exertion could longer avail the unfortunate people of Scotland. A peace with France, in which Philip the Fair totally omitted all stipulations in favor of his allies, left the kingdom to its own inadequate means of resistance, while Edward directed his whole force against it. The castle of Brechin, under the gallant Sir Thomas Maule, made an obstinate resistance. In 1303 he was mortally wounded, and died in an exclamation of rage against the soldiers, who asked if they might not then surrender the castle. Edward wintered at Dunfermline, and began the next campaign with the siege of Stirling, the only fortress in the kingdom that

still held out. But the courage of the guardians altogether gave way; they set the example of submission, and such of them as had been most obstinate in what the English king called rebellion were punished by various degrees of fine and banishment. With respect to Sir William Wallace, it was agreed that he might have the choice of surrendering himself unconditionally to the king's pleasure, provided he thought proper to do so; a stipulation which, as it signified nothing in favor of the person for whom it was apparently conceived, must be imputed as a pretext on the part of the Scottish nobles to save themselves from the disgrace of having left Wallace altogether unthought of. Some attempts were made to ascertain what sort of accommodation Edward was likely to enter into with the bravest and most constant of his enemies; but the demands of Wallace were large, and the generosity of Edward very small. The English king broke off the treaty, and put a price of three hundred marks on the head of the patriot.

Meantime Stirling Castle continued to be defended by a slender garrison, and, deprived of all hopes of relief, continued to make a desperate defence, under its brave governor, Sir William Olifaunt, until famine and despair compelled him to an unconditional surrender, when the king imposed the harshest terms on this handful of brave men.

But what Edward prized more than the surrender of the last fortress which resisted his arms in Scotland was the captivity of her last patriot. He had found in a Scottish nobleman, Sir John Monteith, a person willing to become his agent in searching for Wallace among the wilds where he was driven to find refuge. Wallace was finally betrayed to the English by his unworthy and apostate countryman, who obtained an opportunity of seizing him at Robroyston, near Glasgow, by the treachery of a servant. Sir William Wallace was instantly transferred to London, where he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, with as much apparatus of infamy as the ingenuity of his enemies could devise. He was crowned with a garland of oak, to intimate that he

had been king of outlaws. The arraignment charged him with high treason, in respect that he had stormed and taken towns and castles, and shed much blood. "Traitor," said Wallace, "was I never." The rest of the charges he confessed, and proceeded to justify them. He was condemned, and executed by decapitation. His head was placed on a pinnacle on London Bridge, and his quarters were distributed over the kingdom.

Thus died, in 1305, this courageous patriot, leaving a remembrance which will be immortal in the hearts of his countrymen. This steady champion of independence having been removed, and a bloody example held out to all who should venture to tread in his footsteps, Edward proceeded to form a species of constitution for the country, which, at the cost of so much labor, policy, and bloodshed, he had at length, as he conceived, united forever with the English crown. Ten commissioners chosen for Scotland and twenty for England composed a set of regulations for the administration of justice, and enactments were agreed upon, by which the feudal law, which had been long introduced into Scotland, was strengthened and extended, while the remains of the ancient municipal customs of the original Celtic tribes, or the consuetudinary laws of the Scots and Bretts (the Scoto-Irish and British races) were finally abrogated. This was for the purpose of promoting a uniformity of laws through the islands. Sheriffs and other officers were appointed for the administration of justice. There were provisions also made for a general revision of the ancient laws and statutes of Scotland.

But while Edward was endeavoring to reap the fruit of so many years of craft and violence, a crisis was approaching in which his whole labors were eventually destroyed.

CHAPTER VIII

Bruce, Earl of Carrick—His early Life—His Claims to the Throne—His Plot with Comyn—Death of Comyn—Bruce assumes the Crown—Battle of Methven Park—Extremities to which Bruce is reduced—He flies to Rachrin—Fate of his Adherents

ROBERT BRUCE, earl of Carrick, was the grandson of that nobleman who was competitor for the crown of Scotland when John Baliol was preferred to the short-lived honor of wearing it. Since the time that he met a rude repulse from Edward, after the battle of Dunbar, ambition seems to have been mortified within the candidate. He retired to his English estates, and lived there in such security as the times admitted. His son did not take much concern in public affairs; but the grandson early evinced a desire of distinction, which showed itself in active bursts of sudden enterprise, which were directed in a manner so inconsistent, and taken up and abandoned with so much apparent levity, as to afford little prospect of his possessing the strength of character and vigor of determination which he afterward exhibited under such a variety of adventures, disastrous or prosperous.

Robert Bruce was put in possession of the earldom of Carrick by the resignation of his father in 1293. About this time Baliol, king of Scotland, declared war against England; but none of the Bruce family joined him on that occasion. They continued to regard their own chief the elder Bruce's title to the crown as more just than that of Baliol. The eldest Bruce, indeed, as we have just noticed, nourished hopes that Edward would have preferred him to the crown on the deposition of his rival; but checked by the scornful

answer of the monarch, that he had other business than conquering kingdoms for him, he retired to his great Yorkshire possessions, yielding his Scottish estates to the charge of his grandson, who showed at this early period, when a youth of two or three-and-twenty, a bold, bustling, and ambitious, but versatile disposition of mind. He had a natural spirit of ill-will against the great family of Comyn, because John Comyn of Badenoch had married Marjory, the sister of John Baliol. So that when Baliol's title was ended by his resignation, and the foreign residence and youth of his son placed him out of the question, John, called the Red Comyn, the son of John Comyn of Badenoch and Marjory Baliol, had, through his mother, the same title to the throne as that which had been preferred on the part of John Baliol: and the Comyns' claim, as Baliol's, in the last generation, then stood in direct opposition to that on which the Bruces rested as descendants from Isabella, second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon.

But, besides the emulation which divided these two great families touching the succession of the crown, there had private injuries passed between them of a nature which, in that haughty age, were accounted deserving of persevering and inveterate vengeance. The lords who joined John Baliol in his revolt from Edward had issued a hasty order, confiscating the rich property of Annandale, because Bruce had not obeyed their summons. His domains were granted by John Baliol to Comyn, earl of Buchan, and Bruce's castle of Lochmaben was occupied by him accordingly. From these united reasons, it is probable that Robert never forgave a family whose claim had not only come between his grandfather and a crown, but who had also showed a purpose of stripping him of his paternal estate, and dared to establish one of their number as lord of his castle. The chief part of his resentment was directed against the Comyns, who took advantage by the act of confiscation, for Baliol was regarded only as the tool; and this must be considered as adding to the feudal hatred between the powerful houses of Bruce

and Comyn, which afterward led to such important consequences.

The two representatives of these two great factions of Bruce and Comyn, therefore, stood in regular opposition to each other, each having a claim to the throne, which both probably only wanted an opportunity of urging. The necessary consequence was that suspicion and hatred divided the heads of the two rival houses, and rendered it almost impossible for them to concur in any joint effort for their country's liberty, because, when that freedom should be achieved, they could not expect to agree which of them should be placed at the head of affairs. During the insurrection of Wallace, the younger Bruce acted with more than usual versatility. Being summoned by the bishop of Carlisle to come to a council held by that prelate, who had charge of the peace of the north, he made appearance accordingly, took every oath that could be suggested in attestation of his faith to the king of England, showed his zeal by plundering the lands of William of Douglas, the associate of Wallace, carried that baron's wife and family away prisoners; and having done all this to evince his faith to Edward, he united himself to Wallace and his associates. Once more Bruce saw reason to repent the part he had taken, made haste anew to submit to the king of England, again swore fealty to that monarch, and gave his infant daughter as a hostage for keeping his faith in future. As, however, he did not join the English army, Edward determined to regard him as a cold-spirited neutral, and took into English possession his castle of Lochmaben. This created a new revolution in Bruce's sentiments, and he permitted himself to be joined in the Scottish commission of regency, of which his rival, John the Red Comyn, was a distinguished member, having commanded, as we observed, at the memorable battle of Roslin. It does not appear that Bruce was disposed to act with vigor in the same cause that was espoused and defended by his feudal enemy; and his exertions against the cause of Edward were so cold that, upon the pacification

between Edward and the Scots, and the death of his father in 1304, Bruce was permitted to take possession of his paternal estates, while Comyn, as the greater delinquent in English eyes, was subjected to a severe fine. Bruce also was consulted on the measures by which Edward proposed to achieve the pacification of Scotland, while Comyn was excluded from the favor and the councils of the English monarch. It is probable that Edward, from the uncertain tenor of Bruce's conduct, was disposed to rely upon him as the person of the two rivals who might be the most easily guided and influenced, since hitherto his conduct had been ruled according to the immediate pressure of his own interest; and the zeal which, at times, he had discovered for the freedom of Scotland, had uniformly cooled, when the effects of success in his country's cause went to exalt the house of Comyn, and render that of Bruce subordinate. Thus reckoned Edward, conceiving that self-interest was the unfailing key to regulate Bruce's motions, and allowing nothing for those strong impulses, which often change the whole human character, and give a new and nobler direction to one who has till then only appeared influenced by the passions and versatility of early youth.

In 1304, Bruce enjoyed the favor and confidence of King Edward, and was one of those in whom that sagacious monarch chiefly trusted for securing Scotland to his footstool forever. Such, however, was far from being the intention of the young Earl of Carrick. Though we can but obscurely trace what his purpose really was, this much is certain—a great object now presented itself, which formerly was not open to Bruce's ambition. In the insurrection of Wallace, and the subsequent stand made after the battle of Falkirk by the commissioners of regency, the name of John Baliol had always been used as the head and sovereign of Scotland, in whose right its natives were in arms, and for whom they defended their country against the English. It was probably the high influence of the Comyns, his near connections, which kept the claims of Baliol so long in the public eye.

But, in his disgraceful renunciation, followed by a long absence from Scotland, after renouncing every exertion to defend his kingdom, the king, Toom-tabard (Empty Coat), as he was termed by the people, lost all respect and allegiance among his subjects, nor seems there to have been any who turned to him with any sentiment of loyalty, or even interest. The crown of Scotland was therefore open to any daring claimant who might be disposed to brave the fury of the English usurper; and such a candidate might have rested, with some degree of certainty, upon the general feeling of the Scottish nation, and upon that disaffection which, like a strong ground-swell, agitated both the middle classes and populace throughout the country, who were disposed, from the spirit of independence with which they were animated, to follow almost any banner which might be displayed against England, the weight of whose yoke became the more severe the closer it was riveted on their necks.

In this conjuncture Bruce entered into a secret treaty with William de Lambyrton, the primate of Scotland, binding themselves to stand by each other against all mortals, the terms of which (the king of England not being excepted) plainly inferred some desperate enterprise. It was thought necessary to discover this league to John Comyn; or, perhaps, he had been led to suspect it, and such a communication had become unavoidable on the part of the conspirators. Comyn was given to understand that the purpose of the league was the destruction of the English supremacy in Scotland. The question was natural, "And what king do you intend to propose?" To this Bruce, in a personal conference with John Comyn, is said to have pointed out to him that their claims to the throne might be considered as equal: "therefore," said Bruce, "do you support my title to be king of Scots, and I will surrender my patrimonial estates to you; or give over to me your family possessions, and I will support your claim to the throne." Comyn, it is said by the Scottish historians, ostensibly embraced the alternative of taking Bruce's large property, and asserting his claim to

royalty. But in secret he resolved to avail himself of this discovery to betray the intrigues of his rival to Edward.

Robert Bruce had returned to London, and was in attendance on the English court, when a private token from the Earl of Gloucester, his kinsman, made him aware that his safety and liberty were in danger.—It is said the Earl of Gloucester sent Bruce a piece of money and a pair of spurs. Men's wits are sharpened by danger, and slighter intimations have been sufficient in such circumstances to put them on their guard, and induce them to take measures for their safety when peril hovered over them.—He left London instantly, and hastened to Scotland. It is said that near the Solway Sands, Bruce and his attendants met an emissary of Comyn, who was despatched, they found, for the English court. They killed the messenger without hesitation, and from the contents of his packet learned the extent of Comyn's treachery. In five days Bruce reached his castle of Lochmaben.

It was in the month of February, 1305–6; and the English justiciaries appointed by Edward's late regulations for preservation of the peace of the country of Scotland were holding their assizes at Dumfries for that purpose. Bruce, not yet prepared for an open breach with England, was under the necessity of rendering attendance on this high court as a crown vassal, and came to the county-town for that purpose. He here found Comyn, whom the same duty had brought to Dumfries. Bruce invited his rival to a private interview, which was held in the church of the Friars Minorite; a precaution—an unavailing one as it proved—for the safety of both parties, and the peaceful character of the meeting. They met by themselves, the slender retinue of each baron remaining apart, and without the church. Between two such haughty rivals a quarrel was sure to arise, whether out of old feud or recent injury. The Scots historians say that at their private interview Bruce upbraided Comyn with his treacherous communication to Edward: the English, more improbably, state that he then, for the first time,

imparted to Comyn his plan of insurrection against England, which Comyn rejected with scorn, and that this gave occasion to what followed. Without pretending to detail what no one save the survivor could have truly described, it is certain that a violent altercation took place, in which Comyn gave Bruce the lie, and Bruce in reply stabbed Comyn with his dagger. Confounded at the rashness of his own action, in a place so sacred, Bruce hastened out of the sanctuary. There stood without two of his friends and adherents, Kirkpatrick of Closeburne, and Lindsay, a younger son of Lindsay of Crawford. They saw Bruce's bloody weapon and disordered demeanor, and inquired eagerly the cause. "I doubt," said Bruce, "I have slain the Red Comyn." "Do you trust that to doubt?" said Kirkpatrick; "I make sure"; so saying, he rushed into the church, and despatched the wounded man. Sir Robert Comyn, the uncle of John, interfered to save his kinsman, but was slain along with him. The English justiciaries, hearing this tumult, barricaded themselves in the hall where they administered justice. Bruce, however, compelled them to surrender, by putting fire to their place of retreat, and thereafter dismissed them in safety.

This rash act of anger and impatience broke off all chance which might still have remained to Bruce of accommodating matters with Edward, who now knew his schemes of insurrection, and must have regarded Comyn as a victim of his fidelity to the English government. On the other hand, the circumstances attending the slaughter were marked with sacrilege and breach of a solemn sanctuary, so as to render the act of homicide detestable in the eyes of all, save those who from a strong feeling of common interest might be inclined to make common cause with the perpetrator. This interest could only exist among the Scottish patriots, who might see in Bruce the vindicator of his country's liberty and his own right to the crown; claims so sacred as to justify in their eyes his enforcing them against the treacherous confidant who had betrayed the secret to the foreign usurper,

even with the dagger's point, and at the foot of the altar. Bruce was, therefore, in a position as critical as if he had stood midway up a dizzy precipice, where the path was cut away behind him. The crown of Scotland hung within a possibility of his reaching it; and though the effort was necessarily attended with a great risk of failure, yet an attempt to retreat in any other direction must have been followed by inevitable destruction. Sensible of the perils of the choice, Bruce, therefore, resolved to claim the throne, with the unalterable resolution either to free his country or perish in the attempt.

He retired from Dumfries into the adjoining wilds of Nithsdale, and resided in obscurity in the hut of a poor man, near the remarkable hill called the Dun of Tynron. Meantime he sent messengers abroad in every direction, to collect his friends and followers through his extensive estates, and to warn such nobles as he knew to be favorable to Scottish independence. But their numbers were but few, and they were ill prepared for a hasty summons. His own family supplied him with four bold brethren, all men of hardihood and skill in arms. His nephew, afterward the celebrated Thomas Randolph, and his brother-in-law, Christopher Seaton, also followed the cause of their relation. Of churchmen, the primate of Scotland, the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, joined in the undertaking, together with the Earls of Lennox and of Athol, and some fourteen barons, with whose assistance Bruce was daring enough to defy the whole strength of England. He went from Dumfriesshire to Glasgow, where he determined to take the decisive measure of celebrating his coronation at Scone. On his road thither, Bruce was joined by a warrior, who continued till his death the best and most disinterested of his friends and adherents. This was the young Sir James of Douglas, son of William of Douglas, the heroic companion of Wallace, and, like his father, devoted to the independence of Scotland.

On the 27th of March, 1306, the ceremony of crowning

Bruce was performed at Scone with as much state as the means of the united barons would permit. Edward had carried off the royal crown of Scotland: a slight coronet of gold was hastily made to supply its place. The Earls of Fife had, since the days of Malcolm Cean-mohr, uniformly possessed and exercised the right of placing the crown on the king's head at his coronation, in memory of the high services rendered by their ancestor, Macduff, to that monarch. On this occasion the Earl of Fife did not attend; but the right was, contrary to his inclination, exercised by his sister, Isabella, the countess of Buchan, who absconded from her husband, in order that the blood of Macduff might render the service due to the heir of Malcolm Cean-mohr. For this she was afterward strangely and cruelly punished by Edward I.

Although the figure which Robert Bruce had hitherto made in public life was of a fickle and apparently selfish description, yet his character for chivalrous accomplishments stood high, and when he took the field many of Wallace's old followers began to join him.

Meantime Edward directed Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, under the title of guardian of Scotland, to proceed to put down the rebellion in that kingdom. He was accompanied by Lord Clifford and Henry Percy. The king himself was then ill, and scarce able to mount on horseback; nevertheless he celebrated, with feudal solemnities, the day on which he conferred the dignity of knighthood upon the Prince of Wales and three hundred young gentlemen, the heirs of the first families in England. In the course of a high festival, celebrated on this occasion, two swans, richly adorned with gold network, were placed on the table, and the king made a vow (according to the singular custom of the age) to God and to the swans, that he would forthwith set out for Scotland to punish the treachery of his Scottish rebels, as it pleased him to call Bruce and his followers, and avenge the death of Sir John Comyn. He then adjured his son, that, should he die in the expedition, his bones

should be preserved, and borne at the head of the army, till the kingdom of Scotland was entirely subdued.

Meanwhile Bruce, against whom these vindictive preparations were directed, was engaged in strengthening his party without any considerable success. His enterprise was regarded as desperate, even by his own wife (according to the English authorities), who, while he boasted to her of the sovereign rank he had obtained, said to him, "You are, indeed, a summer king; but you will scarce be a winter one." He appears to have sought an encounter with the Earl of Pembroke, who, with an army of English, had thrown himself into the fortified town of Perth. Bruce arrived before the town with a host inferior to that of the English earl by fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Nevertheless he sent Pembroke a challenge to come forth and fight. The Englishman replied, he would meet him on the morrow. Bruce retired to the neighboring wood of Methven, where he took up his quarters for the night, expecting no battle until next day. But Pembroke's purpose was different from what he expressed. He caused his men instantly to take arms, though the day was far spent, and, sallying from the town of Perth, assaulted with fury the Scots, who were in their cantonments and taken at unawares. They fought boldly and Bruce himself was thrice unhorsed. At one moment he was prisoner in the hands of Sir Philip de Mowbray, who shouted aloud that he had taken the new king. Christopher Seaton struck Mowbray to the earth, and rescued his brother-in-law. About four hundred of the Scots kept together, and effected their escape to the wilds of Athol. Several prisoners were made, and some pardoned or admitted to ransom; but those of distinction were pitilessly hanged, drawn, and quartered. Young Randolph, Bruce's nephew, submitted to the king of England, and was admitted to favor.

Bruce, seeing his party almost totally dissipated by the defeat at Methven, was obliged to support himself and the few who remained with him, among whom were his own wife, and many other ladies, by the toils of the chase, in

which it was remarked that the zeal and address of Douglas distinguished him above others of Bruce's band, by the contributions which he brought to the relief of the ladies. From Athol the noble fugitives retreated into Aberdeenshire, and from thence they approached the borders of Argyleshire. Hitherto they had been safe from enemies in the fastnesses of a desolate and thinly-peopled country, and the produce of the chase had been sufficient to sustain their wants. But they were now compelled to approach a hostile country, where battle was to be expected. Winter was approaching, and threatened not only to diminish their supplies of sustenance, but was likely, by the rigor of the weather, to render it impossible for their females any longer to accompany them. For himself, the fugitive king seems to have shaped his course under the guidance of Sir Neil Campbell, of Loch-Awe (ancestor of the great house of Argyle), who had undertaken to procure the king some refuge among the islands, or on the adjacent mainland of Cantire.

Hitherto Bruce and his companions in wandering appear to have experienced neither favor nor opposition from the inhabitants of the districts through which they rambled; but most part of the shire of Argyle, which they now approached, was under the command of a powerful chief called Macdougal, or John of Lorn. This prince had married an aunt of the slaughtered John Comyn, and desired nothing with more ardor than an opportunity to revenge the death of his ally upon the homicide. Accordingly, when Bruce attempted to penetrate into Argyleshire at the head of his company, he was opposed by John of Lorn, who encountered him at a place called Dalry (*i.e.*, the king's field), near the head of Strathfillan. The Highlandmen being on foot, and armed with long pole-axes, called Lochaber-axes, attacked the little band of Bruce where the knights had no room to manage their horses, and did them much injury. Bruce, compelled to turn back, placed himself in the rear of his followers, and protected their retreat with the utmost gallantry. Three Highlanders, a father and two sons, assaulted him at once;

but Bruce, completely armed, and excellent at the use of his weapon, rid himself of them by despatching them one after another. "Look at him," said John of Lorn, in unwilling admiration; "he guards his men from us, as Gaul, the son of Morni, protected his host from the fury of Fingal."—The comparison was taken from some of the ancient Gaelic poems composed by, or imputed to, the Celtic bard, Ossian. But the reader will not find the incident in the English work of Macpherson.

Driven back from the road by which he had purposed to approach the western isles, where he had some hopes of finding shelter, Bruce labored under great and increasing difficulties, the first effect of which was to compel him to separate the ladies from his company. His younger brother, Nigel Bruce, was sent to conduct the queen and her attendants back to Aberdeenshire, where his brother was still master of a strong castle, called Kildrummie, which might serve them for some time as a place of refuge. We shall afterward give some account of their evil fortune.

As Bruce and his band had in their retreat before Macdougal fallen down considerably to the southward of Dalry, where they had sustained their late defeat, Loch Lomond was now interposed between them and the province of Cantire and the western coast. A little boat, capable of carrying only three men at once, was the only means to be found for the purpose of passing over two hundred persons. To divert his attendants during this tiresome ferry, the Bruce amused them with reading the adventures of Ferambras, a fabulous hero of a metrical romance; a legend in which they might find encouragement to patience under difficulties scarcely more romantic than those which they themselves were subjected to.

On the banks of Loch Lomond, Bruce met with the Earl of Lennox, who, wandering there for protection, discovered the king was in his neighborhood, by hearing a bugle sounded with an art which he knew to be peculiar to his master. They met, embraced, and wept. By the guidance and assistance

of Lennox, Bruce reached the province of Cantire, then subject to Angus, called Lord of the Isles. Here the king met with Sir Neil Campbell, who had gone before him to propitiate this powerful Highland prince, whose favor was the more easily obtained that he was unfriendly to John Macdougal of Lorn, the personal enemy of Robert Bruce. This Angus was also the descendant of the renowned Somerled, and head of the sept of the Macdonalds, the most powerful scion of those original Scots who colonized Argyleshire under Fergus, the son of Eric, and who, seated in Cantire, Islay, and the other western islands, had, since the death of Alexander III., nearly shaken off subordination to the crown of Scotland, and paid as little respect to the English claim upon their supremacy.

Though Bruce was received by the Lord of the Isles with kindness and hospitality, he was probably sensible that his residence on or near the mainland of Scotland might draw down on his protector the vengeance of Edward, against whom the insular prince could not have offered an effectual defence. He therefore resolved to bury himself in the remote island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, a rude and half-desolate islet, but inhabited by the clan of Macdonalds, and subject to their friendly lord. By this retreat, he effected his purpose of secluding himself from the jealous researches made after him by the adherents of the English monarch, and the feudal hatred of John of Lorn. Here Bruce continued to lurk in concealment during the winter of 1306.

In the meantime his friends and adherents in Scotland suffered all the miseries which the rage of an exasperated and victorious sovereign could inflict. His wife and his daughter were taken forcibly from the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, and consigned to the severities of separate English prisons, where they remained for eight years. The Countess of Buchan, who had placed the crown on the Bruce's head, was immured in a place of confinement constructed expressly for her reception on the towers of the castle of Berwick, where the sight of her prison might make

her the subject of wonder or scorn to all that passed. The bishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Glasgow, and the abbot of Scone, taken in arms, were imprisoned by Edward, who applied to the pope for their degradation, in which, however, he did not succeed. Nigel Bruce, a gallant and beautiful as well as highly accomplished youth, held out in his brother's castle of Kildrummie till a traitor in the garrison set fire to the principal magazine, when surrender became inevitable. He was tried, condemned, and executed. Christopher Seaton, who so gallantly rescued the Bruce at the battle of Methven, shared with his brother-in-law the same melancholy fate. The vengeance of Edward did not spare his own blood. The Earl of Athol had some relationship with the royal family of England; but the circumstance having been pleaded in favor of the earl, Edward only gave so much weight to it as to assign him the distinction of a gallows fifty feet high.

Simon Fraser, one of the commanders at the victory of Roslin (the other being the unfortunate John Comyn), still disdained to surrender, and continued in arms, till, being defeated at a place called Kirkincliffe, near Stirling, he was finally made prisoner, exposed to the people of London loaded with fetters, crowned with a garland in mockery, and executed with all the studied cruelty of the treason law. The citizens were taught to believe that demons, with iron hooks, were seen ramping on the gibbets, among the dismembered limbs of these unfortunate men, as they were exposed upon the bridge of London. The inference was that the fiends were in like manner employed in tormenting the souls of men, whose crimes, so far as we know them, were summed up in their endeavors to defend their country from a foreign yoke.

To add to the disastrous deaths of his friends and associates, the fate of Bruce personally seemed utterly destitute. He was forfeited by the English government as a man guilty of murder and sacrilege, and his large estates, extending from Galloway to the Solway Firth, were bestowed on dif-

ferent English nobles, of which Sir Henry Percy and Lord Robert Clifford had the greatest share. A formal sentence of excommunication was at the same time pronounced against him by the papal legate, with all the terrific pomp with which Rome knows how to volley her thunders.

Thus closed the year 1306 upon Scotland. The king, lurking in an obscure isle beyond the verge of his dominions, an outlawed man, deprived at once of all civil and religious rights, and expelled from the privileges of a Christian, in as far as Rome had power to effect it; the heads and limbs of his best and bravest adherents, men like Seaton and Fraser, who had upheld the cause of their country through every species of peril, blackening in the sun on the walls of their own native cities, or garnishing those of their vindictive enemy. But in these, as in similar cases, Heaven frequently sends assistance when man seems without hope, as the darkest hour of the night is often that which precedes the dawning.

CHAPTER IX

Bruce returns to Scotland, lands in Arran, and passes from thence to Ayrshire—Success of his Adherent James Douglas—Capture and Execution of Bruce's Brothers, Thomas and Alexander—The English evacuate Ayrshire—Bruce's reputation increases—Edward I. marches against him, but dies in sight of Scotland—Edward II.'s vacillating Measures—Bruce in the North of Scotland: defeats the Earl of Buchan, and ravages his Country—His further Successes—Defeat of the Lord of Lorn at Cruachan-ben—Feeble and irresolute Conduct of Edward contrasted with the Firmness of Bruce and the Scottish Clergy and People—Inefficient Attempt of Edward to invade Scotland—Bruce ravages the English Borders: takes Perth—Roxburgh Castle surprised by Douglas, Edinburgh by Randolph, Linlithgow by Binnock—The Isle of Man subdued by Bruce—The Governor of Stirling agrees to surrender the Place if not relieved before Midsummer—Bruce is displeased with his Brother Edward for accepting these Terms, yet resolves to abide by them—King Edward makes formidable Preparations to relieve Stirling

WITH the return of spring, hope and the spirit of enterprise again inspired the dauntless heart of Robert Bruce. He made a descent on the isle of Arran, with the view of passing from thence to the Scottish mainland. A faithful vassal in his earldom of Carrick engaged to watch when a landing could be made with some probability of success, and intimate the opportunity to Bruce. The signal agreed upon was a fire to be lighted by the vassal on the cape or headland beneath Turnberry Castle, upon seeing which, it was resolved Bruce should embark with his men. The light, long watched for, at length appeared; but it had not been kindled by Bruce's confidant. The king sailed to the mainland without hesitation, and was astonished to find his emissary watching on

the beach, to tell him the fire was accidental, the English were reinforced, the people dispirited, and there was nothing to be attempted with a prospect of success. Robert Bruce hesitated; but his brother Edward, a man of courage which reached to temerity, protested that he would not go again to sea, but being thus arrived in his native country, would take the good or evil destiny which Heaven might send him. Robert himself was easily persuaded to adopt the same bold counsel; and a sudden attack upon a part of the English, who were quartered in the town, gave them victory and a rich booty, as Percy, who lay in the castle, did not venture to sally to the relief of his men.

This advantage was followed by others. It seemed as if fortune had exhausted her spite on the dauntless adventurer, or that Heaven regarded him as having paid an ample penance for the slaughter of Comyn.

Bruce was joined by friends and followers, and the English were compelled to keep their garrisons; until Sir Henry Percy, instead of making head against the invader, deemed it necessary to evacuate Turnberry Castle, and retreat to England. James Douglas penetrated into his own country in disguise, and collecting some of his ancient followers, surprised the English garrison placed by Lord Clifford in Douglas Castle, and putting the garrison to the sword, mingled the mangled bodies with a large stock of provisions which the English had amassed, and set fire to the castle. The country people to this day call this exploit the Douglas's larder.

The efforts of Bruce were not uniformly successful. Two of his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, had landed in Galloway, but were defeated and made prisoners by Roland Macdougal, a chief of that country who was devoted to England. He sent the unfortunate brothers to Edward, who executed them both, and became thus accountable to Bruce for the death of three of his brethren. This accident rendered the king's condition more precarious than it had been, and encouraged the Gallovidians to make many attempts against

his person, in some of which they made use of bloodhounds. At one time he escaped so narrowly that his banner was taken, and, as it happened, by his own nephew, Thomas Randolph, then employed in the ranks of the English. When pressed upon on this and similar occasions, it was the custom of Bruce to elude the efforts of the enemy by dispersing his followers, who, each shifting for himself, knew where to meet again at some place of rendezvous, and often surprised and put to the sword some part of the enemy which were lying in full assurance of safety.

At length, after repeated actions and a long series of marching and counter-marching, Pembroke was forced to abandon Ayrshire to the Bruce, as Percy had done before him. Douglas on his part was successful in Lanarkshire, and the numerous patriots resumed the courage which they had possessed under Wallace. A battle was fought at Loudoun Hill, in consequence of an express appointment, between Bruce and his old enemy, the Earl of Pembroke, who was returning to the west with considerable reinforcements, the 10th of May, 1307, in which the Scottish king completely avenged the defeat at Methven. Pembroke fled to Ayr, in which place of refuge the Earl of Gloucester was also forced to seek safety. By these and similar skirmishes, in which his perfect knowledge of the principles of partisan warfare enabled him to take every advantage afforded by the excellence of his intelligence arising from the goodwill of the country, or by circumstances of ground, weather, weapons, and the like, the Scottish king gradually accustomed his men to repose so much confidence in his skill and wisdom that his orders for battle were regarded as a call to assured victory. He himself, James Douglas, and others among his followers, displayed at the same time all that personal and chivalrous valor, which the manners of the age demanded of a leader, and which often restored a battle when well-nigh lost. It was to these latter qualities also, as well as to precaution and sagacity, that Bruce was indebted for his escape from several treacherous attempts to take away his

life, by the friends of the slaughtered Comyn, or the adherents of the king of England. Several of such assassins were slain by Robert with his own hand; and a general opinion, long suppressed by the former course of adverse events, began to be entertained through Scotland, that Heaven, in the hour of utmost need, had raised up in the heir of the Scottish throne a prince destined by Providence to deliver his country, and that no weapon forged against him should prosper.

The gradual and increasing reputation of Bruce, the renown of his exploits, the talents which his conduct proved him to possess, reached the ears of Edward the First more and more frequently, and stung the aged sovereign with the most acute sense of wounded pride and mortified ambition. In fulfilment of his romantic vow to Heaven and the swans, Edward had advanced as far as Carlisle, to open his proposed campaign against the Scots, but had been detained there during the whole winter by the wasting effects of a dysentery. As the season of action approached, and the rumors of Bruce's success increased, the king persuaded himself that resentment would restore him the strength which age and disease had impaired. It was, indeed, a mortifying condition in which he found himself. For the space of nineteen or twenty years the conquest of Scotland had been the darling object of his thoughts and plans. It had cost him the utmost exertion of his bold and crafty faculties—blood had been shed without measure—wealth lavished without grudging, to accomplish this darling plan; and now, when disease had abated his strength and energies, he was doomed to see from his sick bed the hills of Scotland, while he knew that they were still free. As if endeavoring to restore by a strong effort of the mind the failing strength of his body, he declared himself recovered, hung up in the cathedral the horse-litter in which he had hitherto travelled, but which he conceived he should need no longer, and, mounting his war-horse, proceeded northward. It was too forced an effort to be continued long. Edward only reached

the village of Burgh on the Sands, and expired there on the 7th July, 1307. On his deathbed, his thoughts were entirely on the Scottish affairs: he made his son swear that he would prosecute the war without truce or breathing-space; he repeated the strange injunction, that his flesh being boiled from his bones, the latter should be transported at the head of the army with which he was about to invade Scotland, and never be restored to the tomb till that obstinate nation was entirely subdued. By way of corollary to this singular precept, the dying king bequeathed his heart to be sent to the Holy Land, in whose defence he had once fought.

Edward II., the feeble yet headstrong successor of the most sagacious and resolute of English princes, neglected the extraordinary direction of the dying monarch respecting the disposal of his body, which he caused to be interred at Westminster (by which means the bones of Edward I. probably escaped falling into Scottish custody); and naming first the Earl of Pembroke, and afterward John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, in his room, to be guardian of Scotland, he himself found it more agreeable to hasten back to share the pleasures of London with Gaveston and his other minions, than to undertake the difficult and laborious task of subduing Bruce and his hardy associates.

The English guardian, however, did his duty, and soon assembled a force so superior to that of Bruce that the king thought it necessary to shift the war into the northern parts of Scotland, where the enemy could not be so suddenly reinforced. He left the indefatigable James of Douglas to carry on the war in the wooded and mountainous district of Ettricke forest.

In Aberdeenshire King Robert was joined by Sir Alexander and Sir Simon Fraser, sons of the gallant hero of Roslin. But he was opposed by Comyn, earl of Buchan, who to party hatred added an eager desire to revenge the death of his kinsman slain by Bruce. The time seemed favorable for his purpose, for Bruce was at this time afflicted with a lingering and wasting distemper, which impaired his health

and threatened his life. In this condition, he thought it wise to retreat before the Earl of Buchan, who at length pressed so closely on his rear as to beat up their quarters in the town of Old Meldrum, and cause some loss. "These folks will work a cure on me," said Bruce, starting from the litter which he had been of late compelled to use; and rushing into battle, though obliged to be supported in his saddle, he was so actively seconded by his troops that he totally defeated the Earl of Buchan; and in reward for the pertinacity with which that lord had pursued him, he ravaged his country so severely that the *herrying* of Buchan was the subject of lamentation for a hundred years afterward, and traces of the devastation may be even yet seen.

After this action Sir David de Brechin, the Bruce's nephew, who had formerly taken part with the Earl of Buchan, is said to have joined his uncle; yet in 1312, nearly three years afterward, we find him again employed by Edward; so sudden were changes of party in these unsettled times, even among men who held a high character for faith and honor. In the "Rotulæ Scotiæ," as quoted by Mr. Tytler, Edward employs David de Brechin as joint warden with Montfichet. The citizens of Aberdeen also declared in Bruce's favor, and adding acts to professions, stormed and took the castle, and expelled the English garrison. The citadel of Forfar was also taken, and both fortresses were demolished by order of Bruce; a course of policy which he always observed, because, as the English were more skilful in the attack and defence of fortified places, the existence of such afforded them facilities both in gaining and securing their possessions in Scotland which could not have existed if the country had been open and not commanded by citadels or castles.

While victory thus attended his own banners in the north of Scotland, King Robert despatched parties of his followers, under his best leaders, to spread the insurrection into other districts, and by diverting the attention of the English invaders, prevent them from assembling a large force and fin-

ishing the war by a single blow, as at Dunbar and Falkirk. Edward Bruce fought and won several actions against the English in Galloway, as well as against the natives of that barbarous country, who had always taken part against the Bruce's interest. He gained these successes through exertion of a reckless courage which defied all the usual calculations of prudence. At length, after a severe defeat given to the native chiefs and their southern allies on the banks of the Dee, June 29, 1308, Edward expelled the English entirely from Galloway, and brought that rude province into submission to his brother.

Douglas again retook and dismantled his own fortress of Douglas, upon which he had now made three attacks, two of which were completely successful. He then proceeded to scour the hills of Tweedale and the forest of Ettricke. In reconnoitring the country on the small river of Lyne, the Douglas approached a house, in which a spy whom he sent forward heard men talking loudly, one of whom used the "devil's name" as an oath or adjuration. Conjecturing they must be soldiers who dared make familiar use of so formidable a phrase, Douglas caused his attendants to beset the house, and made prisoners therein Thomas Randolph, the king's nephew, and Alexander Stewart of Bonkill, both of whom, since the battle of Methven, had adhered to the English interest. They were well treated, and sent to the king, who gently rebuked Randolph for breach of allegiance. "It is you," said the haughty young warrior, "who degrade your own cause by trusting to ambuscades instead of facing the English in the field." "That may happen in due time," replied Bruce: "in the meantime, it is fitting that you be taught your duty by restraint." Thomas Randolph was sent accordingly to prison, where he did not long remain. He was reconciled to his uncle, whom he ever after served with the utmost fidelity: indeed, Douglas only, among the followers of the Bruce, was held to equal him in military fame.

Bruce's successes now enabled him to chastise the Lord

of Lorn, by whom, after his defeat at Methven, he had been so severely persecuted. He marched toward Argyleshire, and arrived at Dalmally. Here he learned that John of Lorn and his Highlanders had stationed themselves in a formidable pass, where the great mountain of Cruachan-Ben sinks down upon the margin of Loch-Awe, so that the road passes among precipices on the left hand and the deep lake on the other. But Bruce understood as well as any modern tacitician how such difficulties were to be overcome. While he himself engaged the attention of the mountaineers by threatening an assault in front, he despatched Douglas, with a party of light troops, to march round the mountain, and turn the pass, thus attacking the defenders in front, flank, and rear at once. They were routed with great slaughter. The lords of Lorn, father and son, escaped by sea. Their castle of Dunstaffnage was taken, and their country pillaged, August, 1308.

Thus did Robert Bruce, with steady and patient resolution, win province after province from the English, encouraging and rewarding his friends, overawing and chastising his enemies, and rendering his authority more respected day by day. The profound wisdom and resolute purpose of Edward I. would have been required to sustain, against Bruce's talents, the conquests he had made; but the weak and fickle character of his son was all that England had to oppose to him.

The measures to which Edward resorted were imperfect, feeble, hastily assumed, and laid aside without apparent reason. At one time he put his faith in William de Lambyrton, the archbishop of Saint Andrew's, whom his father had cast into prison. This prelate being liberated and pensioned by the second Edward, volunteered his services to promulgate the bull of excommunication against Robert Bruce: but if the bull had made but slight impression on the Scots during the king's adversity, it met with still less regard when the splendor of repeated success disposed his countrymen in general to blot from their remembrance the deed of violence

with which so brilliant a career had commenced. The death of John Comyn was but like a morning cloud which is forgotten in the blaze of a summer noon.

The king of France, who had deserted the Scots in their utmost need, now began to be once more an intercessor in their behalf; and the English king consented to offer a truce to Bruce and his adherents; but the Scots, on their part, required payment of a sum of money before they would grant one. Edward's measures showed a predominance of weakness and uncertainty. Commissions to six different governors were granted and recalled before any of those appointed had time to act upon them. General musters of forces were ordered, which the haughty barons of England obeyed or neglected at their pleasure. All showed the marks of a feeble and vacillating government, unwilling to resign the kingdom of Scotland, yet incapable of adopting the active and steady measures by which alone it could have been preserved.

All public measures in Scotland, on the other hand, were marked by the steadiness of conscious superiority which they borrowed from the character of their sovereign. The estates of the kingdom solemnly declared the award of Edward adjudging the crown of Scotland to John Baliol was an injustice to the grandfather of Bruce. They recognized the deceased lord of Annandale as the true heir of the crown, owned his grandson as their king, and denounced the doom of treason against all who should dispute his right to the crown. The clergy of the kingdom issued a spiritual charge to their various flocks, acknowledging Bruce as their sovereign, in spite of the thunders of excommunication which had been launched against him.

At length, in 1310, Edward, roused into action, assembled a large army at Berwick, and entered Scotland, but too late in the year for any effective purpose. Bruce was contented with eluding the efforts of the invaders to bring on a general battle, cutting off their provisions, harassing their marches, and augmenting the distress and danger of an

invading army in a country at once hostile and desolate; and by this policy the patience of Edward and the supplies of his army were altogether exhausted. A second, a third, a fourth expedition was attempted with equally indifferent success. What mischief the Scots might sustain by these irruptions was fearfully compensated by the retaliation of King Robert, who ravaged the English frontiers with pitiless severity. The extreme sufferings of Bruce himself, of his family and his country, called loudly for retaliation, which was thus rendered excusable, if not meritorious. The Scots obtained money as well as other plunder on these occasions; for, after abiding fifteen days in England, the northern provinces found it necessary to purchase their retreat.

King Robert left the borders to present himself before Perth, which was well fortified, and held out by an English garrison. In one place the moat was so shallow that it might be waded. On that point Bruce made a daring attack. Having previously thrown the garrison off their guard by a pretended retreat, he appeared suddenly before the town at the head of a chosen storming party. He himself led the way, completely armed, bearing a scaling-ladder in his hand, waded through the moat where the water reached to his chin, and was the second man who mounted the wall. A French knight, who was with the Scottish army, at the sight of this daring action, exclaimed, "Oh, heaven! what shall we say of the delicacy of our French lords, when we see so gallant a king hazard his person to win such a paltry hamlet?" So saying he flung himself into the water, and was one of the first to surmount the wall. The place was speedily taken.

The confidential friends to whom Bruce intrusted the command of separate detachments in various parts of Scotland, among whom were men of high military talent, endeavored to outdo each other in following the example of their heroic sovereign. Douglas and Randolph particularly distinguished themselves in this patriotic rivalry. The strong and large castle of Roxburgh was secured by

its position, its fortifications, and the number of the garrison, from any siege which the Scots could have formed. But on the eve of Shrove Tuesday (March 6, 1312–13), when the garrison were full of jollity and indulging in drunken wassail, Douglas and his followers approached the castle, creeping on hands and feet, and having dark cloaks flung over their armor. They seemed to the English soldiers a strayed herd of some neighboring peasant's cattle, which had been suffered to escape during the festivity of the evening. They therefore saw these objects arrive on the verge of the moat and descend into it without wonder or alarm, nor did they discover their error till the shout of Douglas! Douglas! announced that the wall was scaled and the castle taken.

As if to match this gallant action, Thomas Randolph possessed himself of the yet stronger castle of Edinburgh. This also was by surprise. A soldier in Randolph's army, named William Frank, who had lived in the castle in his youth, had then learned to make his way down the precipice on which the fortress is built, by clambering over at a place where the wall was very low. He had used this perilous passage for carrying on an intrigue with a woman who resided in the city, and as he had often left the fortress and returned to it in safety, he offered himself as a guide to scale it at that point. Randolph placed himself and thirty chosen soldiers under the guidance of this man. As they ascended under the cover of night, they heard the counter-guards making their rounds, and challenging the sentinels as usual in a well-guarded post. The Scots were at this moment screened by a rock from the sentinels and from the counter-watch. Yet one man of the patrol at that awful moment called out, "I see you," and threw down a stone. But this was only a trick for the purpose of alarming his companions, not that he had taken any real alarm, though he had so nearly discovered what was going forward. The watchmen moved on, and the Scots, with as much silence as possible, renewed their toilsome and dangerous ascent. They reached

the foot of the wall where it was twelve feet high, and surmounted it by a ladder of ropes. The guide Frank mounted first, then came Sir Andrew Gray, and next Randolph himself. The English sentinels now took the alarm in good earnest; but the boldness of the action was the cause of its success; and though the garrison resisted bravely, yet, being unaware of the very small force opposed to them, the castle was at length taken. This was the 14th March, 1312–13.

It was not princes and warriors alone who were roused to action on this glorious occasion. The exploit of a hardy peasant, Binnock or Binning by name, is as remarkable as the surprise of Roxburgh or Edinburgh. This brave man lived in the neighborhood of Linlithgow, where the English had constructed a strong fort. Accustomed to supply the garrison with forage, Binnock concealed eight armed Scots in his wain, which was apparently loaded with hay. He employed a strong-bodied bondman to drive the wagon, and he himself walked beside it, as if to see his commodity delivered. When the cart was in the gateway beneath the portcullis, Binnock, with a sudden blow of an axe which he held in his hand, severed the harness which secured the horses to the wain. Finding themselves relieved from the draught, the horses sprang forward. Binnock shouted a signal-word, and at the same time struck down the porter with his axe. The armed men started from their concealment among the hay. The English attempted to drop the portcullis or shut the gate; but the loaded wain prevented alike the fall of the one and the closing of the other. A party of armed Scots, who lay in ambush waiting the event, rushed in at the shout of their companions, and the castle was theirs.

The Bruce's success was not limited to the mainland of Scotland; he pursued the Macdougal of Galloway, to whom he owed the captivity and subsequent death of his two brothers, into the Isle of Man, where he defeated him totally, stormed his castle of Rushin, and subjected his island to the Scottish domination.

When Bruce returned to the mainland of North Britain from this expedition, he had the pleasure to find that the energy of his brother Edward had pursued the great work of expelling the English invaders with uninterrupted success. He had taken the town and castle of Rutherglen and of Dundee; the last of which had during the previous year resisted the Scottish arms, in consequence, partly, of a breach of compact, which we shall presently notice.

But these good news were checkered by others of a more doubtful quality. After his success at Rutherglen and Dundee, Sir Edward Bruce laid siege to Stirling, the only considerable fortress in Scotland which still remained in the hands of the English. The governor, Sir Philip de Mowbray, defended himself with great valor, but at length, becoming straitened for provisions, entered into a treaty, by which he agreed to surrender the fortress if not relieved before the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the ensuing midsummer. Bruce was greatly displeased with the precipitation of his brother Edward in entering into such a capitulation without waiting his consent. It engaged him necessarily in the same risk which had so often proved fatal to the Scots; namely, that of perilling the fate of the kingdom upon a general battle, in which the numbers, discipline, and superior appointments of the English must insure them an advantage, which experience had shown they were far from possessing over their northern neighbors when they encountered in small bodies. The king upbraided his brother with the temerity of his conduct; but Edward, with the reckless courage which characterized him, defended his agreement on the usage of chivalry, and rather seemed to triumph in having brought the protracted conflict between the kingdoms to the issue of a fair field.

If Robert Bruce had finally determined to avoid the conflict, he had a fair excuse to do so. In the preceding year (1313), as we have already hinted, William de Montfichet, the English governor of Dundee, had entered into terms similar to the treaty of Stirling, to surrender the place un-

less relieved at a certain stipulated time. But he had broken his agreement, and resumed his defence, under the express injunction of Edward his sovereign. So that if Bruce had refused to sanction his brother's agreement with Mowbray, he might have fairly pleaded the example of Edward his antagonist. But King Robert saw that this mode of eluding the treaty could not be acted upon without depressing the spirits of his followers, and diminishing their confidence, while it must have lost him the services of the hasty but dauntless Edward, of which his cooler courage knew how to make the most important use. Besides, his own temper, though tamed by experience, was naturally hardy and bold, and little disposed him to avoid the arbitrament of battle when his character as a soldier and a true knight recommended his accepting it. To all this must be added that the prescient eye of Bruce saw and anticipated circumstances which, if made of due avail, might deprive the English of the advantage of numbers, discipline, and appointments, in all of which they might be expected to possess a superiority. He prepared, then, with the calm prudence of an accomplished and intelligent general, for the mortal and decisive conflict, the challenge to which his brother Edward had accepted with the wild enthusiasm of a knight-errant.

Meantime Sir Philip de Mowbray, governor of Stirling, availed himself of the truce which the treaty had procured for the garrison under his command, to hasten in person to London, and state to Edward and his council that almost the last remnant of Edward I.'s conquests in Scotland must be irretrievably lost, unless Stirling was relieved. The king and his barons, through the misconduct of the former, were at the time upon very indifferent terms. But this news was of a nature to arouse the spirit of both. The king could not without dishonor decline the enterprise; the barons could not withhold their assistance, without being guilty of treason both to their sovereign and to the honor of their country. The time allowed by the treaty, including several months, was sufficient for collecting the whole gigantic

force of England, and the disposition both of the king and his nobility was earnest in employing it to the best advantage.

The preparations of England for this decisive enterprise were upon such a scale as to stagger the belief of modern historians, yet their extent is proved by the records which are still extant. Ninety-three great tenants of the crown brought forth their entire feudal service of cavalry, to the number of forty thousand, three thousand of whom were completely sheathed in steel, both horses and riders. The levies in the counties of England and Wales extended to twenty-seven thousand infantry. A great force was drawn from Ireland, both under English barons, settlers in that country, and under twenty-six Irish chiefs, who were ordered to collect their vassals and join the army. The whole array was summoned to meet at Berwick on the 11th day of June (1314), the period being prolonged to the last limits Sir Philip Mowbray's engagement would permit, in order to give time to collect the vast quantity of provisions, forage, and everything else required for the movement and support of a host, which was indisputably the most numerous that an English monarch ever led against Scotland, amounting in all to upward of one hundred thousand men.

Bruce, who was well informed respecting these formidable preparations, exhausted the resources of his powerful military genius in devising and preparing the means of opposing them.

CHAPTER X

Preparations of Robert Bruce for a decisive Engagement—Precautions adopted by him against the Superiority of the English in Cavalry: against their Archery: against their Superiority of Numbers—He summons his Army together—Description of the Field of Battle, and of the Scottish Order of Battle—The English Vanguard comes in Sight—Action between Clifford and the Earl of Moray—Chivalrous Conduct of Douglas—Bruce kills Sir Henry Bohun—Appearance of the English Army on the ensuing Morning—Circumstances preliminary to the Battle—The English begin the Attack—Their Archers are dispersed by Cavalry kept in Reserve for that Purpose—The English fall into disorder—Bruce attacks with the Reserve—The Camp Followers appear on the Field of Battle—The English fall into irretrievable Confusion, and fly—Great Slaughter—Death of the Earl of Gloucester—King Edward leaves the Field—Death of De Argentine—Flight of the King to Dunbar—Prisoners and Spoil—Scottish Loss—Scots unable to derive a Lesson in Strategy from the Battle of Bannockburn; but supported by the Remembrance of that great Success during the succeeding Extremities of their History

THE crisis of this long and inveterate war seemed approaching. From the spring of 1306 to that of 1314, the fortunes of Bruce seem to have been so much on the ascendant that none of the slight reverses with which his career was checkered could be considered as seriously interrupting it. He was now acknowledged as king through the greater part of Scotland, although far from possessing the decisive authority attached to the chief magistrate of a settled government. Zeal, goodwill, love for his person, and reverence for his talents, made up to him among his countrymen what was wanting in established and acknowledged right; so that it was with the certainty of receiving the general national support that he prepared for the approaching

conflict. Bruce had chiefly to provide against three disadvantages, being the same which oppressed Wallace at the battle of Falkirk, and of which the first two at least continued to be severely felt by the Scottish in every general action with the English, while they remained separate nations.

The first was the Scottish king's great deficiency in cavalry, which, more especially the men-at-arms, who were arrayed in complete steel, was accounted by far the most formidable part, or rather the only efficient part of a feudal army. On this point Bruce held an opinion more proper to our age than to his. He had, perhaps, seen the battle of Falkirk, where the resistance of the Scottish masses of infantry had been so formidable as wellnigh to foil the English cavalry, and he knew the particulars of that of Courtray, where the French men-at-arms were defeated by the Flemish pikemen. His own experience of the battle of Loudoun Hill went to support the opinion, though accounted singular at the time, that a body of steady infantry, armed with spears and other long weapons, and judiciously posted, would, if they could be brought to stand firm and keep their ranks, certainly beat off a superior body of horse—a maxim uncontroverted in modern warfare.

Bruce's second difficulty lay in the inferiority of his archers, whose formidable shafts constituted the artillery of the day. The bow was never a favorite weapon with the Scottish, and their archery were generally drawn from the Highlands, undisciplined, and rudely armed with a short bow, very loosely strung: this, being drawn to the breast in using it, discharged a clumsy arrow with a heavy head of forked iron, which was shot feebly, and with little effect. These ill-trained and ill-armed archers were all whom the Scottish had to oppose to the celebrated yeomen of England, who were from childhood trained to the exercise of the bow. This warlike implement, of a size suited to his age, was put into every child's hand when five years old, and afterward gradually increased in size with the increasing strength of him who was to use it, until the full-grown youth could

manage a bow of six feet long, and by drawing the arrow to his ear, gain purchase enough to discharge shafts of a cloth-yard long. For the great inequality of numbers and skill between the Scottish Highlanders and English bowmen, Bruce hoped also to find a remedy by his proposed array of battle.

The third disadvantage at which this decisive contest must be fought on the part of Scotland, was the disparity of numbers, which was very great. The commands of Bruce, through such parts of Scotland as confessed his sovereignty, drew together indeed a considerable force, the more easily collected, as Stirling was a central situation. But the more distant districts had, during the tumult of civil war, become almost independent, and it is not probable that the Bruce's mandates had much effect on the remoter northern provinces. On the other hand, in the country to the south, and especially to the southeast of the borders, many great lords and barons continued to profess the English interest. Of these, the great Earl of March was most distinguished. We may conclude from these reasons, that the Scottish historians are right in arriving at the conclusion that Robert's utmost exertions on this trying occasion could not collect together more than about thirty thousand fighting men, though, as was usual with a Scottish army, there were followers of the camp amounting to ten thousand more, to whom, although usually a useless encumbrance, or rather a nuisance to a well-ordered army, fortune assigned on this occasion a singular influence on the fortune of the day. Bruce, thus inferior in numbers, endeavored, like an able general, to compensate the disadvantage by so choosing his ground as to compel the enemy to narrow their front of attack, and prevent them from availing themselves of their numerous forces, by extending them in order to turn his flanks.

With such resolutions, Robert Bruce summoned the array of his kingdom to rendezvous in the Tor Wood, about four miles from Stirling, and by degrees prepared the field of battle which he had selected for the contest. It was a space of

ground then called the New Park, perhaps reserved for the chase, since Stirling was frequently a royal residence. This ground was partly open, partly encumbered with trees, in groups or separate. It was occupied by the Scottish line of battle, extending from south to north, and fronting to the east. In this position Bruce's left flank and rear might have been exposed to a sally from the Castle of Stirling; but Mowbray the governor's faith was beyond suspicion, and the king was not in apprehension that he would violate the tenor of the treaty, by which he was bound to remain in passive expectation of his fate. The direct approach to the Scottish front was protected in a great measure by a morass called the Newmiln Bog. A brook, called Bannockburn, running to the eastward between rocky and precipitous banks, effectually covered the Scottish right wing, which rested upon it, and was totally inaccessible. Their left flank was apparently bare, but was, in fact, formidably protected in front by a peculiar kind of field-works. As the ground in that part of the field was adapted for the manœuvres of cavalry, Bruce caused many rows of pits, three feet deep, to be dug in it, so close together as to suggest the appearance of a honeycomb, with its ranges of cells. In these pits sharp stakes were strongly pitched, and the apertures covered with sod so carefully as that the condition of the ground might escape observation. Calthrops, or spikes contrived to lame the horses, were also scattered in different directions.

Having led his troops into the field of combat, on the tidings of the English approach, the 23d of June, 1314, the king of Scotland commanded his soldiers to arm themselves, and making proclamation that those who were not prepared to conquer or die with their sovereign were at liberty to depart, he was answered by a cheerful and general expression of their determination to take their fate with him. The king proceeded to draw up the army in the following order. Three oblong columns or masses of infantry, armed with lances, arranged on the same front, with intervals between them, formed his first line. Of these Edward Bruce had

the guidance of the right wing, James Douglas and Walter, the steward of Scotland, of the left, and Thomas Randolph of the central division. These three commanders had their orders to permit no English troops to pass their front, in order to gain Stirling. The second line, forming one column or mass, consisted of the men of the isles, under Bruce's faithful friend and ally, the insular Prince Angus, his own men of Carrick, and those of Argyle and Cantire. With these the king posted himself, in order to carry support and assistance wherever it might be required. With himself also he kept in the rear a select body of horse, the greater part of whom he designed for executing a particular service. The followers of the camp were dismissed with the baggage, to station themselves behind an eminence to the rear of the Scottish army, still called the Gillies' (that is, the servants') Hill.

These arrangements were hardly completed by the Scottish monarch, when it was announced that the tremendous army of Edward was approaching, having marched from Falkirk early that morning. On approaching Stirling, the English king detached Sir Robert Clifford with eight hundred horse, directing him to avoid the front of the Scottish army, and, fetching a circuit round them, turn their left flank, and throw himself into Stirling. The English knight made a circuit eastward, where some low ground concealed his manœuvres, when the eagle eye of Bruce detected a line of dust, with glancing of spears and flashing of armor, taking northward, in the direction of Stirling. He pointed this out to Randolph. "They have passed where you kept ward," said he. "Ah, Randolph, there is a rose fallen from your chaplet!"

The Earl of Moray was wounded by the reproach, and with such force as he had around him, which amounted to a few scores of spearmen on foot, he advanced against Clifford to redeem his error. The English knight, interrupted in his purpose of gaining Stirling, wheeled his large body of cavalry upon Randolph, and charged him at full speed. The Earl of

Moray threw his men into a circle to receive the charge, the front kneeling on the ground, the second stooping, the third standing upright, and all of them presenting their spears like a wall against the headlong force of the advancing cavaliers. The combat appeared so unequal to those who viewed it from a distance, that they considered Randolph as lost, and Douglas requested the king's assistance to fetch him off. "It may not be," said the Bruce; "Randolph must pay the penalty of his indiscretion. I will not disorder my line of battle for him."—"Ah, noble king," said Douglas, "my heart cannot suffer me to see Randolph perish for lack of aid"; and with a permission half extorted from the king, half assumed by himself, Douglas marched to his defence; but upon approaching the scene of conflict, the little body of Randolph was seen emerging like a rock in the waves, from which the English cavalry were retreating on every side with broken ranks, like a repelled tide. "Hold and halt!" said the Douglas to his followers; "we are come too late to aid them; let us not lessen the victory they have won, by affecting to claim a share in it." When it is remembered that Douglas and Randolph were rivals for fame, this is one of the bright touches which illuminate and adorn the history of those ages of which blood and devastation are the predominant character.

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his vanguard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. A part of the English vanguard made its appearance at this time; and a knight among them, Sir Henry de Bohun, conceiving he saw an opportunity of gaining himself much honor, and ending the Scottish war at a single blow, couched his lance, spurred his powerful war-horse, and rode against the king at full career, with the expectation of bearing him to the earth by the superior strength of his charger and length of his weapon. The king, aware of his purpose, stood as if

expecting the shock; but the instant before it took place, he suddenly moved his little palfrey to the left, avoided the unequal encounter, and striking the English knight with his battle-axe as he passed him in his career, he dashed helmet and head to pieces, and laid Sir Henry Bohun at his feet a dead man. The animation which this event afforded to the Scots was equalled by the dismay which it struck into their enemies. The English vanguard retired from the field with ominous feelings for the event of the battle, which Edward had resolved to put off till the morrow, in consideration, perhaps, of the discouraging effects of Bohun's death and Clifford's defeat. The Scottish nobles remonstrated with Robert on the hazard in which he placed his person. The king looked at his weapon, and only replied, "I have broke my good battle-axe." He would not justify what he was conscious was an imprudence, but knew, doubtless, like other great men, that there are moments in which the rules of ordinary prudence must be transgressed by a general, in order to give an impulse of enthusiasm to his followers.

On the morning of Saint Barnaby, called the Bright, being the 24th of June, 1314, Edward advanced in full form to the attack of the Scots, whom he found in their position of the preceding evening. The vanguard of the English, consisting of the archers and billmen, or lancers, comprehending almost all the infantry of the army, advanced under the command of the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, who also had a fine body of men-at-arms to support their column. All the remainder of the English troops, consisting of nine battles or separate divisions, were so straitened by the narrowness of the ground, that, to the eye of the Scots, they seemed to form one very large body, gleaming with flashes of armor, and dark with the number of banners which floated over them. Edward himself commanded this tremendous array, and in order to guard his person was attended by four hundred chosen men-at-arms. Immediately around the king waited Sir Aymer de Valence, that Earl of Pembroke who defeated Bruce at Methven Wood, but was

now to see a very different day, Sir Giles de Argentine, a knight of Saint John of Jerusalem, who was accounted, for his deeds in Palestine and elsewhere, one of the best knights that lived, and Sir Ingram Umfraville, an Aglicized Scottishman, also famed for his skill in arms.

As the Scottish saw the immense display of their enemies rolling toward them like a surging ocean, they were called on to join in an appeal to Heaven against the strength of human foes. Maurice, the abbot of Inchaffray, bareheaded and barefooted, walked along the Scottish line, and conferred his benediction on the soldiers, who knelt to receive it, and to worship the power in whose name it was bestowed.

During this time the king of England was questioning Umfraville about the purpose of his opponents. "Will they," said Edward, "abide battle?"—"They assuredly will," replied Umfraville; "and to engage them with advantage, your highness were best order a seeming retreat, and draw them out of their strong ground." Edward rejected this counsel, and observing the Scottish soldiers kneel down, joyfully exclaimed, "They crave mercy."—"It is from Heaven, not from your highness," answered Umfraville: "on that field they will win or die." The king then commanded the charge to be sounded and the attack to take place.

The Earls of Gloucester and Hereford charged the Scots left wing, under Edward Bruce, with their men-at-arms; but some rivalry between these two great lords induced them to hurry to the charge with more of emulation than of discretion, and arriving at the shock disordered and out of breath, they were unable to force the deep ranks of the spearmen. Many horses were thrown down, and their masters left at the mercy of the enemy. The other three divisions of the Scottish army attacked the mass of the English infantry, who resisted courageously. The English archers, as at the battle of Falkirk, now began to show their formidable skill, at the expense of the Scottish spearmen; but for this Bruce was prepared. He commanded Sir

Robert Keith, the marshal of Scotland, with those four hundred men-at-arms whom he had kept in reserve for the purpose, to make a circuit and charge the English bowmen in the flank. This was done with a celerity and precision which dispersed the whole archery, who having neither stakes nor other barrier to keep off the horse, nor long weapons to repel them, were cut down at pleasure, and almost without resistance.

The battle continued to rage, but with disadvantage to the English. The Scottish archers had now an opportunity of galling their infantry without opposition; and it would appear that King Edward could find no means of bringing any part of his numerous centre or rearguard to the support of those in front, who were engaged at disadvantage. The cause seems to have been that, his army consisting in a great measure of horse, a space of ground was wanted for the squadrons to act in divisions and with due order; and though there are cases in which masses of infantry may possess a kind of order, even when in a manner heaped together, this can never be the case with cavalry, the efficacy of whose movements must always depend on each horse having room for free exertion.

Bruce, seeing the confusion thicken, now placed himself at the head of the reserve, and addressing Angus of the Isles in the words, "My hope is constant in thee," rushed into the engagement, followed by all the troops he had hitherto kept in reserve. The effect of such an effort, reserved for a favorable moment, failed not to be decisive. Those of the English who had been staggered were now constrained to retreat; those who were already in retreat took to actual flight. At this critical moment, the camp-followers of the Scottish army, seized with curiosity to see how the day went, or perhaps desirous to have a share of the plunder, suddenly showed themselves on the ridge of the Gillies' Hill, in the rear of the Scottish line of battle; and as they displayed cloths and horse-coverings upon poles for ensigns, they bore in the eyes of the English the terrors of an army with ban-

ners. The belief that they beheld the rise of an ambuscade, or the arrival of a new army of Scots, gave the last impulse of terror; and all fled now, even those who had before resisted. The slaughter was immense; the deep ravine of Bannockburn, to the south of the field of battle, lying in the direction taken by most of the fugitives, was almost choked and bridged over with the slain, the difficulty of the ground retarding the fugitive horsemen till the lancers were upon them. Others, and in great numbers, rushed into the river Forth, in the blindness of terror, and perished there. No less than twenty-seven barons fell in the field: the Earl of Gloucester was at the head of the fatal list. Young, brave, and high-born, when he saw the day was lost, he rode headlong on the Scottish spears, and was slain. Sir Robert Clifford, renowned in the Scottish wars, was also killed. Two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires of high birth and blood graced the list of slaughter with the noblest names of England; and thirty thousand of the common file filled up the fatal roll.

Edward, among whose weaknesses we cannot number cowardice, was reluctantly forced from the bloody field by the Earl of Pembroke. The noble Sir Giles de Argentine considered it as his duty to attend the king until he saw him in personal safety, then observing that "it was not his own wont to fly," turned back, rushed again into the battle, cried his war-cry, galloped boldly against the victorious Scots, and was slain, according to his wish, with his face to the enemy. Edward must have been bewildered in the confusion of the field, for instead of directing his course southerly to Linlithgow, from which he came, he rode northward to Stirling, and demanded admittance. Philip de Mowbray, the governor, remonstrated against this rash step, reminding the unfortunate prince that he was obliged by his treaty to surrender the castle next day, as not having been relieved according to the conditions.

Edward was therefore obliged to take the southern road, and he must have made a considerable circuit to avoid the

Scottish army. He was, however, discovered on his retreat, and pursued by Douglas with sixty horse, who were all that could be mustered for the service. A circumstance happened in the chase which illustrates what we have formerly said of the light and easy manner in which a Scottish baron's allegiance at this period hung upon him. In crossing the Tor Wood, Douglas met with Sir Laurence Abernethy, who with a small body of horsemen was hastening to join King Edward and his army. But learning from Douglas that the English army was destroyed and dispersed, and the king a fugitive, Sir Laurence Abernethy was easily persuaded to unite his forces with those of Douglas, and ride in pursuit of the prince to aid and defend whom he had that morning buckled on his sword and mounted his horse. The king, by a rapid and continued flight through a country in which his misfortunes must have changed many friends into enemies, at length gained the castle of Dunbar, where he was hospitably received by the Earl of March. From Dunbar Edward escaped almost alone to Berwick in a fishing skiff, having left behind him the finest army a king of England ever commanded.

The quantity of spoil gained by the victors at the battle of Bannockburn was inestimable, and the ransoms paid by the prisoners largely added to the mass of treasure. Five near relations to the Bruce, namely, his wife, her sister Christian, his daughter Marjory, the bishop of Glasgow (Wishart), and the young Earl of Mar, the king's nephew, were exchanged against the Earl of Hereford, high constable of England.

The Scottish loss was very small. Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross were the only persons of consideration slain. Sir Edward Bruce is said to have been so much attached to the last of these knights as to have expressed his wish that the battle had remained unfought so Ross had not died.

As a lesson of tactics, the Scots might derive from this great action principles on which they might have gained

many other victories. Robert Bruce had shown them that he could rid the phalanx of Scottish spearmen of the fatal annoyance of the English archery, and that, secured against their close and continued volleys of arrows, the infantry could experience little danger from the furious charge of the men-at-arms. Yet in no battle, save that of Bannockburn, do we observe the very obvious movement of dispersing the bowmen by means of light horse ever thought of, or at least adopted; although it is obvious that the same charge which drove the English archers from the field might have enabled the bowmen of Scotland to come into the action, with unequal powers, perhaps, but with an effect which might have been formidable when unopposed.

But if, in a strategical point of view, the field of Bannockburn was lost on the Scottish nation, they derived from it a lesson of pertinacity in national defence which they never afterward forgot during the course of their remaining a separate people. They had seen, before the battle of Bannockburn, the light of national freedom reduced to the last spark, their patriots slain, their laws reversed, their monuments plundered and destroyed, their prince an excommunicated outlaw, who could not find in the wilderness of his country a cave dark and inaccessible enough to shelter his head; all this they had seen in 1306: and so completely had ten years of resistance changed the scene that the same prince rode over a field of victory a triumphant sovereign, the first nobles of the English enemies lying dead at his feet or surrendering themselves for ransom. It seems likely that it was from the recollection of that extraordinary change of fortune that the Scots drew the great lesson never to despair of the freedom of their country, but to continue resistance to invaders, even when it seemed most desperate.

Dark times succeeded these brilliant days, and none more gloomy than those during the reign of the conqueror's son. But though there might be fear or doubt, there could not be a thought of despair when Scotsmen saw hanging like hallowed relics above their domestic hearths the swords with

which their fathers served the Bruce at the field of Bannockburn.[1] And the Scots may have the pride to recollect, and other nations to learn from their history, that to a brave people one victory will do more to sustain the honorable spirit of independence than twenty defeats can effect to suppress it.

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[1] Such weapons were actually in existence. The proprietors of the small estate of Deuchar, in the county of Fife, had a broadsword, transmitted from father to son, bearing this proud inscription:—

"At Bannokburn I served the Bruce,
Of whilk the Inglis had na russ."

See Dr. Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, vol. ii., voce Russ.

CHAPTER XI

Consequences of the Victory of Bannockburn—Depression of the Military Spirit of England—Ravages on the Border—Settlement of the Scottish Crown—Marriage of the Princess Marjory with the Steward of Scotland—Edward Bruce invades Ireland: his Success: is defeated and slain at the Battle of Dundalk—Battle of Linthaughlee; Douglas defeats Sir Edmund Caillou, and Sir Robert Neville—Invasion of Fife, and Gallantry of the Bishop of Dunkeld—Embassy from the Pope: the Cardinals who bear it are stripped upon the 'Borders: Bruce refuses to receive their Letters—Father Newton's Mission to Bruce, which totally fails —Berwick surprised by the Scots, and besieged by the English: relieved by Robert Bruce—Battle of Mitton—Truce of Two Years—Succession of the Crown further regulated—Assize of Arms—Disputes with the Pope—Letter of the Scottish Barons to John XXII.—Conspiracy of William de Soulis—Black Parliament—Execution of David de Brechin

THE victory of Bannockburn was followed by a series of consequences which serve to show how entirely the energies of a kingdom, its wisdom, its skill, its bravery, and its success, depend upon the manner in which its government is administered and its resources directed. The indolence with which Edward II. had managed the affairs of England, his neglect of the Scottish war, while supported almost in spite of every species of superiority by the talents of Bruce and those whom his genius had summoned to arms—this original error, followed by the great and decisive failure which the English king had experienced in his final attempt to crush the enemy after he had become too strong for his efforts, produced an effect on the public mind through England, which, did we not find it recorded by her own historians, we could hardly reconcile to the triumphs of the same people in the past reign of Edward I., and

the subsequent one of Edward III. "A hundred English," says Walsingham, "would not be ashamed to fly from three or four private Scottish soldiers, so much had they lost their national courage."

Thrice within twelve months Scottish armies, commanded by James Douglas and Edward Bruce, broke into the English frontiers, and ravaged them with fire and sword, executing great cruelties on the unfortunate inhabitants, forcing the few who could so escape to take shelter under the fortifications of Berwick, Newcastle, or Carlisle, all strong towns, carefully fortified, and numerously garrisoned.

Meantime commissioners on both sides had met with a proposal for peace; but the Scots, on the one hand, were elated with success, and, on the other, the national spirit of the English would not agree to the conditions which they proposed, and the negotiation was therefore broken off. The war continued with mutual animosity, though much more effectually carried on by the Scots, who wasted the northern frontiers with unceasing ravages, which were hardly encountered or repaid either by resistance or retaliation. In the meantime a famine spread its ravages through both countries, and added its terrors to those of the sword, which, by scaring away the peasants and destroying the agricultural produce, had done much to create this new scourge.

In 1315 the estates or parliament of Scotland, bethinking themselves of the evils sustained by the nation at the death of Alexander III., through the uncertainty of the succession to the crown, entered into an act of settlement, by which Edward, the king's brother, we may suppose upon the ancient principles of the Scottish nation, was called to the throne in case of Robert's decease without heirs male; and Edward or his issue failing, the succession was assured to King Robert's only child, Marjory, and her descendants. The princess was immediately married to Walter, the high-steward of Scotland, and the heir of that auspicious marriage having succeeded in a subsequent generation to the throne of Scotland, their descendants now sit upon that of Britain.

It is probable that Robert's acquaintance with his brother Edward's martial character and experience in war inclined him to give his assent that he and his issue should occupy the throne, rather than expose the unsettled state to the government of a female, by devolving it upon his own daughter. But there is also reason to believe that the monarch was suspicious that the fiery valor and irregular ambition of Edward would lead him to dispute the right of his daughter; and King Robert was willing to spare Scotland the risk of a disputed claim to the throne, found by experience to be the inlet of so many evils, even at the sacrifice of postponing the right of his own daughter. If this be the ground of the arrangement, it is an additional instance of the paternal regard which the great Bruce bore to the nation whose monarchy he had restored, and whose independence he had asserted.

But Edward Bruce's ambition was too impatient to wait till the succession to the Scottish crown should become open to him by the death of his brother, when an opportunity seemed to offer itself which offered a prospect of instantly gaining a kingdom by the sword. This occurred when a party of Irish chiefs, discontented with the rule of the English invaders, sent an invitation to Edward Bruce to come over with a force adequate to expel the English from Ireland, and assume the sceptre of that fair island. By consent of King Robert, who was pleased to make a diversion against England upon a vulnerable point, and not, perhaps, sorry to be rid of a restless spirit, which became impatient in the lack of employment, Edward invaded Ireland at the head of a force of six thousand Scots. He fought many battles, and gained them all. He became master of the province of Ulster, and was solemnly crowned king of Ireland; but found himself amid his successes obliged to entreat the assistance of King Robert with fresh supplies; for the impetuous Edward, who never spared his own person, was equally reckless of exposing his followers; and his successes were misfortunes, in so far as they wasted the brave men with whose lives they were purchased.

Robert Bruce led supplies to his brother's assistance, with an army which enabled him to overrun Ireland, but without gaining any permanent advantage. He threatened Dublin, and penetrated as far as Limerick in the west, but was compelled, by scarcity of provisions, to retire again into Ulster, in the spring of 1317. He shortly after returned to Scotland, leaving a part of his troops with Edward, though probably convinced that his brother was engaged in a desperate and fruitless enterprise, where he could not rely on the faith of his Irish subjects, as he termed them, or the steadiness of their troops, while Scotland was too much exhausted to supply him with new armies of auxiliaries.

After his brother's departure, Edward's career of ambition was closed at the battle of Dundalk, where, October 5, 1318, fortune at length failed a warrior who had tried her patience by so many hazards. On that fatal day he encountered, against the advice of his officers, an Anglo-Irish army ten times more numerous than his own. A strong champion among the English, named John Maupas, singling out the person of Edward, slew him, and received death at his hands: their bodies were found stretched upon each other in the field of battle. The victors ungenerously mutilated the body of him before whom most of them had repeatedly fled. A general officer of the Scots, called John Thomson, led back the remnant of the Scottish force to their own country. And thus ended the Scottish invasion of Ireland, with the loss of many brave soldiers, whom their country afterward severely missed in her hour of need.

Meanwhile, in 1315, some important events had taken place in Scotland while these Irish campaigns were in progress. The king, whose attention was much devoted to nautical matters, had threatened the English coast with a disembarkation at several points. He had also destroyed what authority his ancient and mortal foe, John of Lorn, still retained in the Hebrides, made him prisoner, and consigned him to the castle of Loch Leven, where he died in captivity. New efforts to disturb the English frontiers revived the evils

of those unhappy countries. In 1316, Robert, at the head of a considerable army, penetrated into Yorkshire, and destroyed the country as far as Richmond, which only escaped the flames by paying a ransom. But an assault upon Berwick, and an attempt to storm Carlisle, were both successfully resisted by the English garrisons.

During the time that Robert Bruce was in Ireland with his brother, the English on their side made several attempts on the borders. But though the king was absent, Douglas and Stewart defended the frontiers with the most successful valor.

A remarkable action was fought near a manor called Linthaughlee, about two miles above Jedburgh. James Douglas was lying at this place, which is on the banks of the Jed, and then surrounded by the forest land called Jed Wood, which stretches away toward the English border. Here he heard that the Earl of Arundel, having in his company Sir Thomas de Richmond, earl of Brittany, with an English force of ten thousand men, was advancing from Northumberland to take him by surprise. Douglas (as had been said of one of his ancestors) was never found asleep by his enemies, being as vigilant as he was sagacious and brave. He immediately resolved to be beforehand with the invaders. Having selected a strait passage in the line of march of the English earls, he caused the copse-wood on each side to be wrought into a sort of empalement or stockade, forming a defile, through which the road must pass, and greatly adding to its natural difficulties. He placed his archers in ambush near this place; and when the English had engaged themselves in the narrow pathway, he poured on them a volley of arrows, and charged them with the utmost fury. As the English could not form themselves into order, either for advance or for retreat, they were thrown into confusion, and compelled to fly. It was the peculiarity of Douglas to unite the personal courage and adventurous spirit of a knight-errant with the calm skill and deliberation of an accomplished leader. He threw himself headlong into

the melée, singled out the Earl of Brittany, and, grappling with him, stabbed him to the heart with his dagger. Douglas carried off a fur hat which the unfortunate earl wore above his helmet, as a trophy of his valor and success. The House of Douglas still wreathe the escutcheon of their family with the representation of an empalement or barrier of young trees, in memory of the stratagem successfully employed by the good Lord James at Linthaughlee.

Edmund de Caillou, a French knight, lay about the same time (1317), in the garrison of Berwick, being created governor of that town. With the enterprise of his countrymen, he boasted he would drive a prey from Scotland. Accordingly he sallied forth with a band of Gascons like himself; but as they were returning with a great spoil they were intercepted by Douglas, and Caillou lost his booty and life. Sir Robert Neville was also in Berwick. He upbraided such of the Gascons as escaped from the field with cowardice; and as the crestfallen Frenchmen pleaded the irresistible prowess of Douglas, Neville proudly expressed a wish to see the Scottish chieftain's banner displayed, averring he would himself give battle wherever he beheld it. This vaunt reached the ears of Douglas, and shortly after the formidable banner was seen in the neighborhood of Berwick, where the smoke of blazing hamlets marked its presence. Robert Neville collected his forces, and sallied out to make good, like a true knight, the words that he had spoken. Douglas no sooner saw him issue from the town, than he went straight to the encounter. Neville and his men fought bravely, and the English champion met Douglas hand to hand. But the skill, strength, and fortune of the Scottish hero were predominant. Neville fell by the sword of Douglas, and his men were defeated.

Another military incident shows that the spirit of the king, which called forth and animated the talents of Douglas, could awaken a congenial desire of honor even in men whose profession removed them from arms or battle. An attempt of Edward II. to retaliate the aggressions of the

Scots, was made by sending a fleet into the Firth of Forth, and disembarking a considerable body of troops at Duniebrissle on the Fife coast. The sheriff collected about five hundred Scottish horse, who went to reconnoitre the invaders; but, thinking themselves unequal to the task of resisting, they retreated precipitately. They were met, as they were riding off in disorder, by William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, a man hardy of heart and tall of person, who resided near the coast. "Out upon you for false knights, whose spurs should be stricken from your heels!" said the prelate to the fugitive sheriff and his followers; then catching a spear from the soldier next him, "Who loves Scotland," he said, "let him follow me!" The daring bishop then led a desperate charge against the English, who had not completed their disembarkation, and were driven back to their ships with loss. When Bruce heard of the prelate's gallantry, he declared Sinclair should hereafter be *his* bishop, and by the name of the king's bishop he was long distinguished.

Our history has so long conducted us through an unvarying recital of scenes of war and battle, that we feel a relief in being called to consider some intrigues of a more peaceful character, which place the sagacity of Robert Bruce in as remarkable a point of view as his bravery. The king of England, suffering by the continuation of a war which distressed him on all points, yet unwilling to purchase peace by the sacrifices which the Scots demanded, fell on the scheme of procuring a truce without loss of dignity by the intervention of the pope. John XXII., then supreme pontiff, was induced, by the English influence, assuming, it is said, the interesting complexion of gold, to issue a bull, commanding a two years' peace between England and Scotland. Two cardinals were intrusted with this document, with orders to pass to the nations which it concerned, and there make it known. These dignitaries of the Church had also letters, both sealed and patent, addressed to both kings. And privately they were invested with powers of fulminating a

sentence of excommunication against the king of Scots, his brother Edward, and any others of their adherents whom they might think fit. The cardinals, arrived in England, despatched two nuncios to Scotland, the bishop of Corbeil and a priest called Aumori, to deliver the pope's letters to the Scottish king. For comfort and dignity in their journey, these two reverend nuncios set out northward, in the train of Lewis de Beaumont, bishop-elect of Durham, who was passing to his diocese to receive consecration. But within a stage of Durham the whole party was surprised by a number of banditti, commanded by two robber knights, called Middleton and Selby, who, from being soldiers, had become chiefs of outlaws. Undeterred by the sacred character of the churchmen, they rifled them to the last farthing, and dismissing the nuncios on their journey to Scotland, carried away the bishop-elect, whom they detained a captive, till they extorted a ransom so large that the plate and jewels of the cathedral were necessarily sold to defray it.

Disheartened by so severe a welcome to the scene of hostilities, the nuncios at length came before Bruce, and presented the pope's letters. Those which were open he commanded to be read, and listened to the contents with much respect. But, ere opening the sealed epistles, he observed that they were addressed not to the king, but to Lord Robert Bruce, governor in Scotland. "These," he said, "I will not receive nor open. I have subjects of my own name, and some of them may have a share in the government. For such the holy father's letters may be designed, but they cannot be intended for me, who am sovereign of Scotland." The nuncios endeavored to apologize, by alleging it was not the custom of the Church to prejudice the right of either party during the dependency of a controversy, by any word or expression. "It is I, not Edward," said Bruce, "who am prejudiced by the conduct of the holy Church. My spiritual mother does me wrong in refusing to give me the name of king, under which I am obeyed by my people; and but that I reverence our mother Church, I should

answer you differently." The nuncios had no alternative but to retire and report their answer to the cardinals. These dignitaries resolved, at all risks, to execute the pope's commission, by publishing the bulls and instruments. But not caring to trust their reverend persons across the border, they confided to Adam Newton, father guardian of the Friars Minorite of Berwick, the momentous and somewhat perilous task of communicating to Robert Bruce what they had no reason to think would be agreeable tidings.

Father Newton acted as a man of due caution. He did not intrust himself or the documents within Scottish ground until he had obtained an especial safe-conduct. The bulls and papal instruments were then produced to Bruce and his council; but finding the title of king was withheld from him, Robert refused to listen to or open them, and returned them to the bearer with the utmost contempt. The father guardian next attempted to proclaim the papal truce for two years. But the military hearers received the intimation with such marks of anger and contempt that Newton began to fear they would not confine the expressions of their displeasure to words or gestures. He prayed earnestly that he might either have license to pass forward into Scotland for the purpose of holding conference with some of the Scottish prelates, or at least that he might have safe-conduct for his return to Berwick. Both requests were refused, and the unlucky father guardian was commanded to be gone at his own proper peril. The reader will anticipate the consequences. The friar on his return fell into the hands of four outlaws, who stripped him of his papers and despatches, tore, it is said, the pope's bull, doubtless to prevent that copy at least from being made use of, and sent him back to Berwick unhurt, indeed, but sorely frightened. It is diverting enough to find that the guardian surmised that, by some means or other, the documents he was intrusted with had fallen into the hands of the Lord Robert Bruce and his accomplices. It was thus that with a mixture of firmness and dexterity Bruce eluded a power which

it would not have been politic to oppose directly, and baffled the attempts of this servile pontiff to embarrass him by spiritual opposition.

When Father Adam Newton delivered his message, or rather proffered to deliver it, to Robert Bruce, the Scottish king was lying with a body of troops in the wood of Old Cambus, where he was secretly maturing an important enterprise. Of all Edward I.'s northern conquests, Berwick alone remained with his unfortunate son. Its importance as a commercial depot was great; as a garrison and frontier town, greater still, since it gave whichever kingdom possessed it the means of invading the other at pleasure. For this reason Edward I. had secured and garrisoned the town and castle with great care; and Edward II., careless of his father's precepts and policy in many respects, had adhered to his example in watching the security of Berwick with a jealous eye. A governor was placed in the town, who exercised such rigorous discipline as gave offence to the citizens of Berwick. A burgess named Spalding, of Scottish extraction probably, if we may judge by his name, and certainly married to a Scottish woman, was so much offended at some hard usage which he had received from the English governor, that he resolved, in revenge, to betray the place to Robert Bruce. For this purpose he communicated his plan to the Earl of March, who had abandoned the English interest and become a good Scotsman. His correspondent carried the proposal to the king. "You did well to let me know this," said the Bruce, with a shrewdness which shows his acquaintance with the nature of mankind and the character of his generals; "Douglas and Randolph are emulous of glory, and if you had intrusted one of them with the secret, the other would have thought himself neglected; but I will employ the abilities of both." Accordingly he commanded his two celebrated generals to undertake the enterprise. By agreement with Spalding they came beneath the walls of the town on a night when he was going the rounds, and received his assistance in the escalade. Some of their men,

when they had entered the town, broke their ranks to plunder, and afforded the governor of the castle the opportunity of a desperate sally, which very nearly cost the assailants dear. But Douglas, Randolph, and a young knight, called Sir William Keith of Galston, drove back the English, after some hard fighting, into the precincts of the castle, which soon after surrendered when the king appeared in person before it. Bruce, delighted with this acquisition, placed the town and castle in charge of his brave son-in-law, Walter, the high-steward of Scotland. He caused the place to be fully victualled for a year; five hundred gentlemen, friends and relations of the steward, having volunteered their services to augment the garrison.

Having thus made sure of his important acquisition, Bruce anew resumed his destructive incursions into the northern provinces of England, burned Northallerton, Boroughbridge, and Skipton in Craven, forced Rippon to ransom itself for a thousand marks, and returned from this work of ravage uninterrupted and unopposed, his soldiers driving their prisoners before them "like flocks of sheep." Such passages, quoted from English history, recall to the reader the invasion of the Picts and Scots upon the unwarlike South Britons. But the ascendency asserted by the Scots over the English during this reign did not rest so much on any superiority of courage on the part of the former, though doubtless repeated victory had given them confidence, and depressed for the time the martial spirit of the enemy: it was to the conduct of the leaders, and to the persevering unity of plan which they pursued, that the Scottish successes may be justly attributed. The feuds among the nobility of England ran high, and the public quarrels between the king and his barons distracted the movements of the government and the military defence of the kingdom. The six northern counties had been so long and so dreadfully harassed, that they lost all habit of self-defence, and were willing to compound, by payment of ransom and tribute, with the Scots, rather than await the reluctant and feeble

support of their countrymen. Many of them, as the allegiance of borderers usually hung light on them, chose rather to join the enemy in preying on more southern provinces, than to defend their own; and the whole country was in that state of total discontent, division, and misrule, that it was found impossible to combine the national forces for one common object.

Omitting for the present some civil affairs of considerable importance, that we may trace the events of the war, we have now to mention that Edward II., stung with resentment at the loss of Berwick, determined on a desperate effort to regain that important town. Having made a temporary agreement with his discontented barons, at the head of whom was his relation, Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the English king was able to assemble a powerful army, with which he invested the place, 24th July, 1319.

As the walls of Berwick were so low that a man standing beneath might strike with a lance a defender on the battlements, a general attack was resolved upon on all sides. At the same time an English vessel entered the mouth of the river, which was filled with soldiers, intended to *board* the battlements from its yards and rigging. But as the ship approached the walls with its yards manned for the proposed attempt, she grounded on a shoal, and was presently set on fire by the Scots. The land attack, after having been supported with courage and resisted with obstinacy for several hours, was found equally void of success. The besiegers then retired to their trenches, having lost many men. Next day, a tremendous engine was brought forward, called a sow, being a large shed composed of very strong timbers, and having a roof sloping like the back of the animal from which it took its name. Like the Roman *testudo*, the sow, or movable covert, was designed to protect a body of miners beneath its shelter, while, running the end of the engine close to the wall, they employed themselves in undermining the defences of the place. The Scots had reposed their safety in the skill of a mercenary soldier, famed for his

science as an engineer. This person, by name John Crab, and a Fleming by birth, had erected a huge catapult, or machine for discharging stones, with which he proposed to destroy the English sow. The event of the siege was like to depend on his skill, for the number of the besiegers was so great as to keep the defenders engaged on every point at once, so that if a part of the walls were undermined by favor of the sow it would have been difficult to collect soldiers to man the breach. The huge engine moved slowly toward the walls; one stone, and then a second, was hurled against it in vain, and amid the shouts of both parties the massive shed was approaching the bulwark. Crab had now calculated his distance and the power of his machine, and the third stone, a huge mass of rock, fell on the middle of the sow, and broke down its formidable timbers. "The English sow has farrowed!" shouted the exulting Scots, when they saw the soldiers and miners who had lain within the machine running headlong to save themselves by gaining the trenches. The Scots, by hurling lighted combustibles, of which they had a quantity prepared, consumed the materials of the English engine. The steward, who, with a hundred men of reserve, was going from post to post distributing succors, had disposed of all his attendants except one, when he suddenly received the alarming intelligence that the English were in the act of forcing the gate called St. Mary's. The gallant knight, worthy to be what fate designed him, the father of a race of monarchs, rushed to the spot, threw open the half-burned gate, and making a sudden sally, beat the enemy off from that as well as the other points of attack.

Bruce, although the garrison of Berwick had as yet made a successful defence, became anxious for the consequences of its being continued, and resolved to make an attempt to relieve his son-in-law. To attack the besiegers was the most obvious mode; but in this case the attempt must have proved a precarious and hazardous operation, as the English were defended in their position before Berwick by strong intrenchments, were brave, besides, and numerous; and it was against

Bruce's system of tactics to hazard a general action where it could be avoided, unless recommended by circumstances of advantage which could not exist in the present case.

But he resolved to accomplish the relief of Berwick, by making such a powerful diversion as should induce Edward to raise the siege. With this view, fifteen thousand men, under Douglas and Randolph, entered England on the west marshes, and turning eastward, made a hasty march toward York, for the purpose of surprising the person of the queen of England, who then resided near that city. Isabella received notice of their purpose, and fled hastily southward. It may be observed in passing that her husband was little indebted to those who supplied her with the tidings which enabled her to make her escape.

The Scots proceeded, as usual, to ravage the country. The archbishop of York, in the absence of a more professional leader, assumed arms, and assembled a large but motley army, consisting partly of country people, ecclesiastics, and others, having little skill or spirit save that which despair might inspire. The Scots encountered them with the advantage which leaders of high courage and experience possess over those who are inexperienced in war, and veteran troops over a miscellaneous and disorderly levy. The conflict took place near Mitton, on the river Swale, 20th September, 1319. By the simple stratagem of firing some stacks of hay, the Scots raised a dense smoke, under cover of which a division of the army turned unperceived around the flank of the archbishop's host, and got into their rear. The irregular ranks of the English were thus attacked in front and rear at once, and instantly routed with great slaughter. Three hundred of the clerical order fell in the action, or were slain in the rout, while many of the fugitives were driven into the Swale. In the savage pleasantry of the times, this battle, in which so many clergymen fell, was called the white battle, and the Chapter of Mitton.

The tidings of this disaster speedily obliged Edward to raise the siege of Berwick, and march to the south in hope

to intercept the Scots on their return from Yorkshire. Indeed, the northern barons, with the Earl of Lancaster at their head, knowing their estates were exposed to a victorious and active enemy, left Edward no alternative, but drew off with their vassals without waiting his leave. It was not the business of Randolph and Douglas to abide an encounter with the royal array of England, at the head of an army of light troops. They eluded the enemy by retreating to their own country through the west marshes, loaded with prisoners and spoil. They had plundered in this incursion eighty-four towns and villages. About the close of the same year, Douglas renewed the ravage in Cumberland and Westmoreland, and again returned with a great prey of captives and cattle, destroying at the same time the harvest which had been gathered into the farmyards. It was said that the name of this indefatigable and successful chief had become so formidable that women used, in the northern counties, to still their froward children by threatening them with the Black Douglas.

These sinister events led to a truce between the two countries for the space of two years, to which Bruce, who had much to do for the internal regulation of his kingdom, willingly consented. The determination of the royal succession, the uncertainty of which had caused so much evil, and the accomplishment of a reconciliation with the pope, were the principal civil objects to be obtained. The former, indeed, with some other important matters, had already been in part accomplished; but the death of Edward Bruce rendered some alterations necessary.

In 1318 a parliament was convoked at Scone, whose first act was an engagement for solemn allegiance to the king, and for aiding him against all mortals who should menace the liberties of Scotland, or impeach his royal rights, how eminent soever might be the power, authority, and dignity of the opponent; peculiar expressions by which the pope was indicated. Whatever native of Scotland should fail in his allegiance was denounced a traitor, without remission. Ed-

ward Bruce being dead without heirs of his body, and Marjory, at that time the Bruce's only child, being also deceased, the infant prince Robert, son of the late princess and her husband the steward of Scotland, and grandson of Robert, was proclaimed heir, in default of male issue of the king's body. The regency of the kingdom was settled on Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and failing him, upon James, Lord Douglas. Rules were laid down for the succession to the kingdom, the import of which bears that the male heir nearest to the king in the direct line of descent should succeed, and failing him, the nearest female in the direct line; and failing the whole direct line, the nearest male heir in the collateral line, respect being always held to the right of blood by which King Robert himself had succeeded to the crown.—Mr. Kerr, in a respectable history of Robert Bruce, remarks that these provisions were in some supposed cases of difficult interpretation. It seems that they were intentionally left ambiguous, since to have adopted distinctly the modern rules of succession would have thrown a slur on the title by which the king's grandfather, Robert the Competitor, claimed the throne, and the king himself held it.

An assize of arms was next enacted. Every man being liable to serve in defence of his country, all Scottish natives were required to provide themselves with weapons according to their rank and means. Every man worth ten pounds a year of land was enjoined to have in readiness a buff jacket and head-piece of steel; those whose income was less might substitute iron for the back and breast-piece, and the knapscap or helmet. All these were to have gloves of plate and a sword and spear. Each man who possessed a cow was to be equipped with a bow and sheaf of arrows, or a spear. No provisions are made for horsemen. The royal tenants in chief, doubtless, came forth as men-at-arms; but the policy of Robert Bruce rested the chief defence of Scotland on its excellent infantry. Prudent and humane rules were laid down for providing for the armed array, when passing to and from the king's host, directed to the end of rendering

them as little burdensome as possible to the country which they traversed in arms. At the same time they were to be supplied with provisions on tender of payment. The supplying warlike weapons or armor to England was strictly prohibited, under pain of death.

The rights and independence of the Scottish Church were dauntlessly asserted, in resentment, probably, of the pope's unfriendly aspect toward Bruce. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to Rome. Native Scotsmen residing in a foreign country were not permitted to draw their revenues from Scotland. Such were the patriotic measures adopted by the parliament of Scotland held at Scone in 1318.

The haughty pontiff, John XXII., had been highly offended with the manner in which the Bruce had neglected his injunctions for a truce, and refused to receive the letters which his holiness had addressed to him. In 1318 he enjoined the two cardinals to publish the bulls of excommunication against Bruce and his adherents. The reasons alleged were that the Scottish governor, as he affected to term him, had taken Berwick during the papal truce; that he had refused to receive the nuncios of the legates; and certain secret reasons were hinted at, which his holiness for the present kept private. Perhaps the most powerful of these were pensions granted by Edward to the pope's brother and nephews, and some other influential cardinals, who enjoyed the pontiff's favor and confidence. Neither the Church nor people of Scotland paid any attention to these bulls, though published by the legates in all solemnity. The flame of national freedom and independence burned too clear and strong to be disturbed by the breath of Rome.

Edward in vain attempted to prevail on other princes and countries to partake with him and the pope in the common cry which they endeavored to raise against Robert Bruce and his kingdom. He applied to the Count of Flanders and other princes and states of the Netherlands, praying them to break off all commercial intercourse with the Scots as a rebellious and excommunicated people. But the Dutch, who

prospered by countenancing a free trade with all men, coolly and peremptorily rejected the proposal.

The pope continued obstinate in his displeasure, and as it broke forth anew just after the retreat of King Edward and the truce he had made with Scotland (1319), there is reason to believe that the holy father resumed his severe measures in compliance with the desires of the English king, who endeavored thus to maintain a spiritual war against Bruce after having laid down his temporal weapons. Indeed, it will afterward appear that Robert alleged the machinations of Edward II. at Rome as an apology for his own breach of the truce. These intrigues were, however, successful; the pope once more renewed the thunders of his excommunication against Bruce and his adherents, in a bull of great length; and the inefficacy that had hitherto attended these efforts of his spleen had offended the pope so highly that the prelates of York and London were ordered to repeat the ceremony, with bell, book, and candle, every Sunday and festival day through the year.

The parliament of Scotland now took it upon them to reply to the pope in vindication of themselves and their sovereign. At Aberbrothock or Arbroath, on the 6th of April, 1320, eight earls and thirty-one barons of Scotland, together with the great officers of the crown, and others, in the name of the whole community of Scotland, placed their names and seals to a spirited manifesto or memorial, in which strong sense and a manly spirit of freedom are mixed with arguments suited to the ignorance of the age.

This celebrated document commences with an enumeration of proofs of the supposed antiquity of the Scottish nation, detailing its descent from Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, its conversion to the Christian faith by Saint Andrew the Apostle, with the long barbarous roll of baptized and unbaptized names, which, false and true, filled up the line of the royal family. Having astounded, as they doubtless conceived, the pontiff with the nation's claim to antiquity, of which the Scots have been at all times more than

sufficiently tenacious, they proceeded in a noble tone of independence. The unjust interference of Edward I. with the affairs of a free people, and the calamities which his ambition had brought upon Scotland, were forcibly described, and the subjection to which his oppression had reduced the country was painted as a second Egyptian bondage, out of which their present sovereign had conducted them victoriously by his valor and prudence, like a second Joshua or Maccabæus. The crown they declared was Bruce's by right of blood, by the merit which deserved it, and the free consent of the people who bestowed it. But yet they added in express terms, that not even to this beloved and honored monarch would they continue their allegiance, should he show an inclination to subject his crown or his people to homage or dependence on England, but that they would in that case do their best to resist and expel him from the throne; "for," say the words of the letter, "while a hundred Scots are left to resist, they will fight for the liberty that is dearer to them than life." They required that the pope, making no distinction of persons, like that Heaven of which he was the vicegerent, would exhort the king of England to remain content with his fair dominions, which had formerly been thought large enough to supply seven kingdoms, and cease from tormenting and oppressing a poor people, his neighbors, whose only desire was to live free and unoppressed in the remote region where fate had assigned them their habitation. They reminded the pope of his duty to preserve a general pacification throughout Christendom, that all nations might join in a crusade for the recovery of Palestine, in which they and their king were eager to engage, but for the impediment of the English war. They concluded by solemnly declaring, that if his holiness should, after this explanation, favor the English in their schemes for the oppression of Scotland, at his charge must lie all the loss of mortal life and immortal happiness which might be forfeited in a war of the most exterminating character. Lastly, the Scottish prelates and barons declared their spiritual

obedience to the pope, and committed the defence of their cause to the God of Truth, in the firm hope that he would endow them with strength to defend their right, and confound the devices of their enemies.

The popish excommunication being thus set at naught and defied by the voice of the people of Scotland, and the nobles proving themselves resolute in asserting the right of their monarch and the justice of their cause, the pontiff showed himself more accessible to the Scottish ambassadors, who were sent to confer with him; and as the king of France also offered his mediation, his holiness began to make more equitable proposals for peace between England and Scotland. It is probable, however, that the sovereigns principally concerned were each of them desirous to await the issue of certain dark and mysterious intrigues, which Edward and Robert respectively knew to have existence in the court of the enemy.

And, first, for the internal discontents of Scotland. Notwithstanding the great popularity of Bruce, as is evinced by the letter of the barons which we have just analyzed, there had been so many feuds, separate interests, and quarrels previous to his accession, and his destruction of the power of the Anglicized barons had given so much offence, that we cannot be surprised that there should be some throughout the nation who nourished sentiments toward their king very different from those of love and veneration, which prevailed in the community at large. These sentiments of envy and ill-will led to a conspiracy, in which David de Brechin, the king's nephew, with five other knights and three esquires, men of rank and influence, were secretly combined to a highly treasonable purpose. They had agreed, it would seem, to put the king to death, and place on the throne William de Soulis, hereditary butler of Scotland. This ambitious knight's grandfather, Nicolas de Soulis, had been a competitor for the crown as grandson of Marjory, daughter of Alexander II., and wife of Alan Dureward; an undeniable claim, had his ancestress been legitimate. Sir William

had himself been lately employed as a conservator of the truce upon the borders, and it is probable he had been then tampered with by the agents of Edward, and disposed to enter into this flagitious, and it would seem hopeless conspiracy.

The Countess of Strathern, to whom the guilty secret was intrusted, betrayed it through fear or remorse. The conspirators were seized and brought to trial before Parliament. Sir William de Soulis and the Countess of Strathern were condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Sir David de Brechin, Sir William Malherbe, Sir John Logie, and an esquire, named Richard Brown, were condemned to death, which they accordingly suffered. Four others of the principal conspirators were tried for their lives, and acquitted. Though the acquittal of these persons, and the clemency extended to the principal conspirator, afford every reason to believe that the trials were equitably if not favorably conducted, yet so little were men accustomed to consider the meditation of a mere change of government or innovation in the state as anything worthy of death, that the punishment seems to have been generally regarded as severe, and the common people gave the name of the Black Parliament to that by whose decrees so much noble blood had been spilled. The age, however accustomed to slaughter in the field, was less familiar with capital punishments which followed on the execution of the laws.

David de Brechin's fate excited much public sympathy. He was young, brave, connected with the blood royal, and had distinguished himself by his feats against the infidels in the Holy Land. These accomplishments were to the noble sufferer in those days a general charm which interested the populace in his favor, and blinded them to a sense of his crime, as the goodly person of the "proper young man" who suffers for a meaner cause fascinates a modern group of spectators. But, excepting the bewitching attributes of high birth, youth, and valor, there is little to interest readers of the present day in the deserved fate of David de Brechin. He had been early attached to the English cause, and had

assisted Comyn, earl of Buchan, in his close and vindictive pursuit of Robert the Bruce through Aberdeenshire, in 1308. If, indeed, he joined his uncle after the battle of Old Meldrum, as is alleged by Barbour, he must have again apostatized, for in 1312 David de Brechin held an English pension, and was governor of Dundee in Edward's service. He was a prisoner of war in Scotland in 1315; and though he probably afterward submitted to his uncle's allegiance, yet in none of those heroic exploits which render illustrious the warfare of the subsequent years does the name of David de Brechin appear. It is probable that his uncle did not trust him; which may explain, but cannot excuse, his entering into an enterprise against the life of a near relative, the restorer of his country's freedom. So it befell, however, that this young man's death was much lamented. Sir Ingram de Umfraville gave upon the occasion an example of what we have above stated concerning the light manner in which the chivalry of the period exchanged their allegiance and country from one land and sovereign to another. "I will not remain in a land," said Sir Ingram, "in which so noble a knight is put to a shameful and pitiful death for such a slight cause." He left Scotland accordingly, and transferred his services and loyalty to England, having previously asked and obtained leave of Robert Bruce to dispose of his Scottish estates, which was generously granted to him. It is difficult to conceive how far Sir Ingram de Umfraville conceived the immunities of a noble knight to extend. This was the fourth time he himself had changed sides. He had borne arms under Wallace, and under the subsequent Scottish regency; he had become English, and was one of the knights appointed to keep King Edward's rein at the battle of Bannockburn. That victory reconverted Sir Ingram to the Scottish allegiance, which he finally renounced out of pity and tenderness for the fate of Sir David de Brechin, and, perhaps, some lurking anxiety concerning what might be ultimately reserved for himself when traitors were receiving payment at the hands of the executioner.

As the conspiracy of Sir William de Soulis and his accomplices was probably known to Edward of England, so there can be no doubt that Robert Bruce was participant of that which Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was carrying on against the former monarch in 1321. To this, perhaps, it was owing that commissioners appointed by both nations broke up their convention without being able to settle the grounds on which the truce should be exchanged for a lasting peace. Edward endeavored on this occasion once more to animate the resentment of the pope against Scotland; but whether the pontiff was moved by the high-spirited manifesto of the Scottish barons, or whether he deemed it inexpedient to bring his spiritual artillery into contempt by using it when it produced no effect, it is certain that he adopted a more impartial tone in the controversy, and more conciliatory toward the weaker kingdom.

The history of England must now be referred to. The chief vice in Edward's feeble government was a disposition to favoritism, with the sovereign's indolence, love of pleasure, and negligence of public business. The first troubles of his reign had been occasioned by his excessive partiality for a knight of Gascony named Piers Gaveston. The power of this minion being destroyed, and he himself put to death, by a league of the nobility headed by Thomas, earl of Lancaster, for some time the king seemed disposed to live in harmony with his subjects. Edward's ill stars, however, led him to find another Gaveston in Hugh Despenser, who engrossed, like the Gascon, and like him misused, the good graces of his facile master. Sensible that he was as much detested by the nobility as ever Gaveston had been, Despenser contrived to whet the king's vengeance against the nobles by whom that favorite had been put to death, and especially against Lancaster. The earl, on the other hand, knowing that he stood in danger from the deadly hatred of his sovereign, was led into the unjustifiable step of caballing with strangers and enemies against his native prince, and contrary to his sworn allegiance.

A treaty offensive and defensive was entered into between the earl and the Scottish nobles, Randolph and Douglas, stipulating that the Scots, on the one part, should invade England, to facilitate the operations of the Earl of Lancaster; and, on the other part, that the English, in return for this brotherly support, should use their interest to obtain an equitable peace between England and Scotland. If there were, as seems probable, other stipulations, they remained secret.

The Earl of Lancaster convoked his friends, and rose in insurrection; but his measures had not been combined with those of the Scots. There appears to have been, as is frequently the case, mutual jealousy between the native conspirators and the foreign auxiliaries. Disconcerted by hearing that the king was on the march toward them, the insurgents threw themselves into the town of Pontefract, 1323. As the Earl of Lancaster endeavored to make his way from thence to his castle of Dunstanborough in the north, he was attacked by Sir Andrew Hartcla, warden of the western marches, and Sir Simon Ward, sheriff of Yorkshire. The Earl of Lancaster was tried and beheaded, and afterward worshipped as a saint, though he had died in an act of high treason.

This gleam of success on his arms, which had been sorely tarnished, seems to have filled Edward, who was of a sanguine and buoyant temperament, with dreams of conquest over all his enemies. As a king never stands more securely than on the ruins of a discovered and suppressed conspiracy, he wrote to the pope to give himself no further solicitude to procure a truce or peace with the Scots, since he had determined to bring them to reason by force.

CHAPTER XII

Preparations of Edward to invade Scotland—Incursions of the Scots into Lancashire—The English enter Scotland—Robert Bruce lays waste the Country, and avoids Battle—The English are obliged to Retreat—Robert invades England in turn—Defeats the King of England at Biland Abbey—Treason and Execution of Sir Andrew Hartcla—Truce for Thirteen Years—Randolph's Negotiation with the Pope—Settlement of the Crown of Scotland—Deposition of Edward II.—Robert determines to break the Truce under Charges of Infraction by England—Edward III. assembles his Army at York, with a formidable Body of Auxiliaries—Douglas and Randolph advance into Northumberland at the Head of a light-armed Army—Edward marches as far as the Tyne without being able to find the Scots—A Reward published to whomsoever should bring Tidings of their Motions—It is claimed by Thomas of Rokeby—The Scots are found in an inaccessible Position, and they refuse Battle—The Scots shift their Encampment to Stanhope Park—Douglas attacks the English by Night—The Scots retreat, and the English Army is dismissed—The Scots suddenly again invade England—A Pacification takes place: its particular Articles—Illness and Death of Bruce—Thoughts on his Life and Character—Effects produced on the Character of the Scots during his Reign

KING EDWARD made extensive preparations for a campaign on a great scale: he sent for soldiers, arms, and provisions, to Aquitaine and the other French provinces belonging to England, and obtained the consent of parliament for a large levy of forces, upon the scale of one man from each village and hamlet in England, with a proportional number from market towns and cities. Subsidies were also granted to a large extent, for defraying the expenses of the expedition. But while Edward was making preparations, the Scots were already in action.

Randolph broke into the west marches with those troops to whom the road was become familiar; and hardly had they returned, when the king himself, at the head of one large body, advanced through the western marches, into Lancashire, wasting the country on every side; while Douglas and Randolph, who entered the borders more to the east, joined him with a second division. They marched through the vale of Furness, laying everything waste in their passage, and piling their wagons with the English valuables. They returned into Scotland upon the 24th July, after having spent twenty-four days in this destructive raid.

It was August, 1322, before King Edward moved northward, with a gallant army fit to have disputed a second field of Bannockburn. But Bruce not being now under an engagement to meet the English in a pitched battle, the reputation of his arms could suffer no dishonor by declining such a risk; and his sound views of military policy recommended his evading battle. He carefully laid the whole borders waste as far as the Firth of Forth, removing the inhabitants to the mountains, with all their effects of any value.

When the English army entered, they found a land of desolation, which famine seemed to guard. The king advanced to Edinburgh unopposed. On their march the soldiers only found one lame bull. "Is he all that you have got?" said the Earl Warrenne to the soldiers who brought in this solitary article of plunder. "By my faith, I never saw dearer beef."

At Edinburgh they learned that Bruce had assembled his forces at Culross, where he lay watching the motions of the invaders. The English had expected their ships in the Firth, and waited for them three days. The vessels were detained by contrary winds, the soldiers suffered by famine, and Edward was obliged to retreat without having seen an enemy. They returned by the convents of Dryburgh and Melrose, where they slew such monks as were too infirm to escape, violated the sanctuaries, and plundered

the consecrated plate.[1] This argues a degree of license which, in an army, seldom fails to bring its own punishment. When the English soldiers, after much want and privation, regained their own land of plenty, they indulged in it so intemperately that sixteen thousand died of inflammation of the bowels, and others had their constitutions broken for life.

Robert Bruce hastened to retaliate the invasion which he had not judged it prudent to meet and repel. He pushed across the Tweed at the head of his army, and made an attempt upon Norham Castle, in which he failed. He learned, however, that the king of England was reposing and collecting forces at Biland Abbey, near Malton; and as the Scots, although they fought on foot, generally used in their journeys small horses of uncommon strength and hardihood, Robert, by a forced march, suddenly and unexpectedly placed himself in front of the English army. But they were admirably drawn up on the ridge of a hill, accessible only by a single, narrow and difficult ascent. Bruce commanded Douglas to storm the English position. As he advanced to the attack, he was joined by Randolph, who with four squires volunteered to fight under his command. Sir Thomas Ughtred and Sir Ralph Cobham, who were stationed in advance of the English army to defend the pass, made a violent and bloody opposition. But Bruce, as at the battle of Cruachan-Ben, turned the English position by means of a body of Highlanders accustomed to mountain warfare, who climbed the ridge at a distance from the scene of action, and attacked the flank and rear of the English position. King Edward with the utmost difficulty escaped to Bridlington, leaving behind him his equipage, baggage, and treasure. John of Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, were made prison-

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[1] The effect of these ravages was repaired by the restoration of the abbey church of Melrose, the beautiful ruins of which still show the finest specimens of Gothic architecture.

ers. It seems the earl had, upon some late occasion, spoken discourteously of Bruce, who made a distinction between him and the other French captives, ordering Richmond into close custody, and recognizing in the others honorable knights, who sought adventures and battles from no ill-will to him, but merely for augmentation of their names in chivalry. The steward of Scotland, at the head of five hundred Scottish men-at-arms, pursued the routed army to the walls of York, and, knight-like (as the phrase then was), abode there till evening, to see if any would issue to fight. The Scots then raised an immense booty in the country, and once more withdrew to their own land loaded with spoil.

The fidelity of Andrew de Hartcla, who had rendered King Edward the important service of putting down the insurrection of the Earl of Lancaster, had procured him the rank of Earl of Carlisle, and many other royal favors. The recollection of these benefits did not, it would seem, prevent his entering into a conspiracy against the prince by whom they were conferred, of nearly the same nature with that of Lancaster, in suppressing which he himself bore the principal part. This second plot was detected, and the Earl of Carlisle brought to trial. He was charged with having entered into a treasonable engagement with the Scottish king, undertaking to guarantee him in the possession of Scotland. In requital, Bruce was to render Hartcla and his associates some aid in accomplishing certain purposes in England, being the destruction doubtless of the power of the Despenser. The Earl of Carlisle was degraded from his honors of nobility and chivalry, and died the death of a traitor at Carlisle, March 2, 1322.

The sense of the difficulties with which he was surrounded, and this new example of the spirit of defection among those in whom he trusted, at length induced Edward to become seriously desirous of a long truce, preparatory to a solid peace with Scotland. Henry de Sully, the French knight made prisoner at Biland Abbey, acted as mediator, and a truce was agreed upon at a place called Thorpe. The rati-

fication, dated at Berwick, 7th June, 1323, was made by Bruce in the express and avowed character of king of Scotland, and was so accepted by the English monarch. The truce was concluded to endure for thirteen years.

Bruce had now leisure to direct his thoughts toward achieving peace with Rome; for his being in the state of excommunication, though a circumstance little regarded in his own dominions, must have operated greatly to his disadvantage in his intercourse with other states and kingdoms of Europe. The king despatched to Rome his nephew, the celebrated Randolph, earl of Moray, who conducted the negotiation with such tact and dexterity that he induced the pope to address a bull to his royal relation under the long-withheld title of king of Scotland. The delicacy of the discussion was so great that we are surprised to find a northern warrior, who scarce had breathed any air save that of the battlefield, capable of encountering and attaining the advantage over the subtle Italian priest in his own art of diplomacy. But the qualities which form a military character of the highest order are the same with those of the consummate politician. Shrewdness to arrange plans of attack, prudence to foresee and obviate those of his antagonist, perfect composure and acuteness in discerning and seizing every opportunity of advantage, hold an equal share in the composition of both. The king of England was extremely displeased with the pope, and intrigued so much at Rome to resume his influence, and use it to the prejudice of Robert, that his private machinations there were afterward alleged by the Scots as the cause of their breaking the long truce which had been concluded between the countries.

Randolph's talents for negotiation were also displayed in effecting a league between Scotland and France, which the circumstances of the times seemed strongly to recommend, and which was entered into accordingly. This French alliance was productive of events very prejudicial to Scotland in after ages, often involving the country in war with England, when the interests of the nation would have strongly

recommended neutrality. But these evil consequences were not so strongly apparent as the immediate advantage of securing the assistance and support of a wealthy and powerful nation, who were, like themselves, the natural enemies of England. The alliance with France, the consequences of which penetrate deep into future Scottish history, was of an offensive and defensive character. But its effects and obligations on the part of Scotland were declared to be suspended till the truce of Berwick should be ended.

Scotland had now, what was a novelty to her stormy history, a continuance of some years of peace. Several changes took place in the royal family. The first and happiest was the birth of a son to Bruce, who afterward succeeded his father by the title of David II. The joy of this event was allayed by the death of the king's son-in-law, the valiant Stewart. His wife, the Princess Marjory, had died soon after the birth of her son in 1326. The Stewart's behavior at Bannockburn when almost a boy, at the siege of Berwick, where he defended the place againt the whole force of England, at Biland Abbey, and on other occasions, had raised his fame high among the Scottish champions of that heroic period.

In consequence of these changes in the family of the king, a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth, in July, 1326, in which it is worthy of observation that the representatives of the royal boroughs for the first time were admitted; a sure sign of the reviving prosperity of the country, which has always kept pace with, or rather led to, the increasing importance of the towns.

In this parliament the estates took their oath of fealty to the infant David, son of Robert Bruce, and failing him or his heirs, to Robert Stewart, son of Walter Stewart, so lately lost and lamented, and Marjory, also deceased, the daughter of Robert by his first queen. The same parliament granted to the Bruce a tenth of the rents of all the lands of the kingdom of Scotland, to be levied agreeably to the valuation or extent, as it is termed, of Alexander III.

In the year 1327 a revolution took place in the government of England, which had a strong effect on the relations between that kingdom and Scotland. The remains of the Earl of Lancaster's party in the state had now arranged themselves under the ambitious Queen Isabella and her minion Mortimer, and accomplished the overthrow of Edward II.'s power, which the same faction had in vain attempted under Lancaster and Hartcla. The unfortunate king, more weak than wilful, then executed a compulsory resignation in favor of his son Edward III., and, thus dethroned, was imprisoned, and finally most cruelly murdered.

It is probable that Robert Bruce was determined to take advantage of the confusion occasioned by this convulsion in England to infringe the truce and renew the war, with the purpose of compelling an advantageous peace. For this he wanted not sufficiently fair pretexts, though it may be doubted whether he would have made use of them had not the opportunity for renewing the war, with a kingdom governed by a boy and divided by factions, seemed so particularly inviting. His ostensible motives, however, were, that, although an article of the treaty at Thorpe, confirmed at Berwick, provided that the spiritual excommunication pronounced against Bruce should be suspended till the termination of the truce, yet Edward, by underhand measures at the court of Rome, had endeavored to prejudice the cause of the Scottish king with the pontiff, and obstruct, if possible, the important object of his reconciliation with Rome. It was also alleged on the part of Scotland that the English cruisers had infringed the truce by interrupting the commerce between Flanders and Scotland, and particularly by the capture of various merchant vessels, for which no indemnity could be obtained.

The truth seems to be that Robert, having these causes or pretences for breaking off the truce, was desirous to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by the internal disturbances of England to bring matters to a final issue, and either to resume the war at a period which promised advantage, or

obtain a distinct recognition of the independence of Scotland, and an acknowledgment of his own title to the crown. Froissart and other historians have intimated that the Scottish king desired also to avail himself of the opportunity to obtain in permanent sovereignty some part of the northern provinces of England. It is highly probable such a claim was stated and founded upon the possession of these counties by the Scottish kings in David I.'s time and before it. But it was probably mentioned in the usual policy of negotiators, who state their demands high that there may be room for concession. The serious prosecution of such a design neither accords with the Bruce's policy nor with his actual conduct. He well knew that Northumberland and Cumberland, over which Scotland had once a claim, were now become a part of England, and attached to that country by all the ties of national predilection, and that although a right to them might be conceded in an hour of distress, it would only create a perpetual cause of war for their recovery, when England should regain its superiority. Accordingly, in all his inroads, Bruce treated the border districts as part of England, to be plundered by his flying armies, while he never took measures either to conciliate the inhabitants or secure and garrison any places of strength for the appropriation of the country. The line drawn between the Tweed and Solway afforded to Scotland a strong frontier, which any advance to the southward must have rendered a weak and unprotected one. Accordingly, when triumphant in the war which he undertook, the sagacious Robert did not make any proposal for enlarging the territory of Scotland, while he took every means for insuring her independence.

Negotiations for continuing the truce, or converting it into a final peace, which seems the point aimed at by Bruce, were finally broken off between the two kingdoms; and Edward III., already, though in early youth, animated by the martial spirit which no king of England possessed more strongly, appointed his forces to meet at Newcastle before the 29th of May, 1327, alleging that the king of Scotland

had convoked his army to assemble at that day upon the borders, in breach of the truce concluded at Thorpe. The rendezvous took place, however, at York, where a noble army convened under command of the young king, the future hero of Crecy, to which magnificent host had been added, at the expense of a large subsidy five hundred men-at-arms from Hainault, who were then reckoned the best soldiers in Europe. With the archers and light horse attendant on each man-at-arms, the number of these auxiliaries must be calculated as amounting to three thousand men. But, as it proved, their heavy horses and heavy armor rendered them ill qualified to act in the swampy, wild, and mountainous country where the seat of war was destined to lie. An accidental quarrel also took place at York between these knightly strangers and the English archers. Much blood was shed on both sides, and a discord created between the foreigners and natives of Edward's army, which seems to have caused embarrassment during the whole expedition.

In the meantime the Scottish forces, to the number of two or three thousand men-at-arms, well mounted and equipped for a day of battle, and a large body of their light cavalry, amounting to more than ten thousand, with many followers, who marched on horseback, but fought on foot, invaded the western border, according to their custom, and penetrating through the wild frontier of Cumberland, came down upon Weardale, in the bishopric of Durham, marking their course with more than their usual ferocity of devastation. These forces, superior to all known in Europe for irregular warfare, were conducted by the wisdom, experience, and enterprising courage of the famed Randolph and the good lord James Douglas, guided, doubtless, by the anxious instructions of the Bruce, who, though only fifty-three years of age, was affected by a disease of the blood, then termed the leprosy, which prevented his leading his armies in person.

The king of England, on the other hand, at the head of a princely army of sixty thousand men, including five hun-

dred belted knights, animated by the presence of the queen-mother and fifty ladies of the highest rank, who witnessed their departure, set out from York, in 1327, with the determination of chastising the invaders and destroyers of his country. The high spirit of the youthful monarch was animated, besides, by a defiance which Bruce despatched to him by a herald, stating his determination to work his pleasure with fire and sword on the English frontiers.

The English army advanced in the most perfect order, and reached Northumberland, where the first intelligence they received of the enemy was by the smoke and flame of the villages suffering under presence of the invaders, tokens which arose conspicuous all around on the verge of the horizon. The English marched on these "melancholy beacons," but without reaching the authors of the mischief. During the space of three days, the light-armed and active Scots made their presence manifest by these marks of ravage, within five miles of the English army, but were not otherwise to be seen or brought to combat. After a vain and fatiguing pursuit which lasted three days, the English, in despair of overtaking their light-footed enemy, at length returned to the banks of the Tyne, determined to await the Scots on that river, and intercept their return to Scotland. This resolution seems to have been adopted in the vain imagination that the Scots, intimately acquainted with the whole of an extensive waste frontier, would choose in leaving England to use precisely the same road by which they had entered it. The halt on the banks of the Tyne proved as detrimental and embarrassing to the English, and especially to the auxiliaries, as the advance and pursuit had been. Provisions grew scarce, forage still scarcer; the rain poured down in torrents; the river became swollen: they had only wet wood to burn, and such bread to eat as they had carried for several days together at the croup of their saddles, wetted and soiled by the rain and the sweat of the horses. They were midway between Newcastle and Carlisle, and too distant to receive assistance from either town.

After enduring these hardships for eight days, the soldiers became so mutinous that it was resolved upon, as the lesser evil, again to put them in movement, and march in quest of the Scottish army.

The march was therefore resumed in a southern direction, still with the hope to meet the enemy on their return, and land to the amount of a hundred pounds a year, with the honor of knighthood, was proclaimed through the host as the reward of any one who should bring certain notice where the Scottish army could be found; an unparalleled circumstance in war, considering that a king in his own country, and at the head of his own royal army, found such a measure necessary to procure information of the position of a host of twenty-five thousand men, who must have been within a half circle of twenty miles drawn round the English army. Many knights and squires set off in quest of information that might merit to secure the reward. Such of the English host as had been transferred to the north bank of the Tyne recrossed the river with difficulty and loss.

On the 31st of July, Thomas de Rokeby, a Yorkshire gentleman, returned to claim the promised reward. His acquaintance with the Scottish position was complete: he had been made prisoner, and brought before the Scottish leaders. He told them of the reward which had been promised, and the purpose of his approaching their encampment. On this statement Douglas and Randolph dismissed him without ransom, telling him to inform the English king they knew as little of his motions as he did of theirs (an assertion which may very well be doubted), but would be glad to meet him in their present position, which was within six or seven miles of his own army. The English arrayed themselves for battle, and advanced under the guidance of Rokeby, now Sir Thomas, but were mortified to find their enemies drawn up on the crest of a steep hill, at the foot of which ran the river Wear, through a rocky channel, so that an attack upon determined men and veteran soldiers, in such a position, must be attended with destruction to the assailants.

The king sent a herald to defy the Scots to a fair field of fight, according to the practice of chivalry: he offered either to withdraw his own troops from the northern bank, and permit the Scottish army to come over and form in array of battle; or, if the enemy preferred to retire from the southern bank, and allow the English to cross the river unmolested, he declared his willingness to make the attack. But Douglas and Randolph knew too well their own inferiority in numbers and appointments, and the great advantage of their present situation, to embrace either alternative. They returned for answer, that they had entered England without the consent of the king and his barons; that they would abide in the realm as long as they pleased: "if the king dislikes our presence," said they, "let him pass the river, and do his best to chastise us." Thus the two armies continued facing each other; the Scots on the south bank of the Wear, the English on the north; the former subsisting on the herds of cattle which they drove in from the country on all hands, the latter living poorly on such provisions as they brought with them: the former spending their night round immense fires, maintained in the greater profusion for the pleasure of wasting the English wood, and lodging in huts and lodges made of boughs; the English, who were on the depopulated and wasted side of the river, sleeping many of them in the open air, with their saddles for pillows, and holding their horses in their hands. They were annoyed by the Scottish bordermen winding their horns all night, and making a noise as if, says Froissart, "all the devils of hell had been there." Having thus faced each other for two or three days, the English, at dawn of the third or fourth morning, perceived the Scots' position was deserted and empty. They had decamped with much silence and celerity, and were soon found to have occupied a new position on the Wear, resembling the former in its general description, but even stronger, and masked by a wood, being part of an enclosed chase, called Stanhope Deer Park, the property of the bishop of Durham. Here the two hostile armies confronted each other as for-

merly; the English declining to attack on account of the strength of the Scottish position, the Scots refusing battle with an army superior to their own.

While they had little to do save to remark each other's equipment, the Scots saw among the English two novelties in the practice of war, which, though attended with very different consequences, are recorded by contemporaries with equal wonder. The one was a mode of adjusting the crest upon the helmet, called *timbering;* the other was the use of a new kind of artillery, then called engynes, or, by abbreviation, gynes, or cracks of war, from which we have derived the modern term guns. The effect produced by firearms in their rude state could not have been formidable, nor could it have been augured that the invention would cause a general change in the art of war, since it is merely noticed as a novelty, along with a new and fantastic mode of ornamenting the helmet.

But the English did not remain long in the neighborhood of the Douglas in undisturbed slumbers. On the second night after their arrival in this new position, that enterprising leader left the Scottish camp with a select body of men-at-arms, crossed the Wear at a distance from the English encampment, and entered it, saying, as he passed the sleepy sentinels, in the manner and with the national exclamation of an English officer making the rounds: "Ha! Saint George! have we no ward here?" He reached the king's tent without discovery, cut asunder the ropes, and cried his war-cry of "Douglas! Douglas!" The young king only escaped death or captivity by the fidelity of his chaplain and others of his household, who fell in his defence. Disappointed in his attempt on the king's person, which was his main object, Douglas cut his way through the English host, who were now gathering fast, broke from their encampment, and returned safe to the Scottish camp with fresh laurels in his helmet.

On the second night after this camisado, the English received intimation from a Scottish captive that all the army

were commanded to hold themselves in readiness to march that evening, and to follow the banner of Douglas. The English conceived this to be a preparation for a repetition of the nocturnal attack, and lay on their arms all the night. But Douglas was too wise to trust to a renewal of the same stratagem. In the morning it was ascertained that the Scots, having left great fires burning in their camp, had marched off about midnight by a road which they had cut through a morass in their rear, supposed to be impassable.

The camp of the Scots, now deserted, furnished a curious spectacle to the English and the strangers. Four hundred beeves lay slaughtered for the use of their army. Three hundred caldrons, formed extemporaneously out of raw hides, were filled with the beef which the same skins had covered while the creatures were alive: hundreds of old brogues, made out of the same materials, lay about the tents. Five English prisoners were found bound to trees, three of whom had their legs broken, although whether in some previous action, or by a gratuitous piece of cruelty after they were made prisoners, does not appear. The hardy warriors of Douglas and Randolph lived exactly as drovers and other Scots of the lower order do at the present day, when bound on long journeys. A bag of oatmeal hung at the croup of the saddle, which also bore a plate of iron, called a *girdle*, on which the said oatmeal was baked into cakes as occasion offered: animal food was furnished by their plunder in an enemy's country—in their own they subsisted well enough without. Salt, liquor of any kind, save water, as well as any variety of food, they entirely dispensed with.

Wanting so little, and carrying with them the means of satisfying themselves, it was easy to see why these light marauders remained concealed from the heavy-armed English, distressed alike by their numerous wants, and the apparatus they bore along to supply them, until it was their pleasure to become visible in Weardale, where they remained no longer than suited their own inclination. It soon ap-

peared that Douglas and Randolph, having taken a circuitous course till they had turned the flank, were already advanced on their way homeward, to meet another Scottish army, which had crossed the frontier to extricate them, if it should be necessary.

The English retreated to Durham, dejected and distressed, especially the knights and men-at-arms of Hainault, many of whom, instead of the praise and plunder they hoped to acquire, had lost their valuable horses and property. They were dismissed, however, with thanks and reward; and it is said these troops, notwithstanding their total inefficiency, had cost the kingdom of England a sum equal to 320,000*l.* sterling of modern money.

King Edward III. next convoked a parliament at York, in which there appeared a tendency on the part of England to concede the main points on which proposals for peace had hitherto failed, by acknowledging the independence of Scotland, and the legitimate sovereignty of Bruce. These dispositions to reconciliation were much quickened by the sudden apparition of King Robert himself on the eastern frontier, where he besieged the castles of Norham and Alnwick, while a large division of his army burned and destroyed the open country, and the king himself rode about hunting from one park to another, as if on a pleasure party. The parliament at York, although the besieged castles made a gallant defence, agreed upon a truce, which it was now determined should be the introduction to a lasting peace. As a necessary preliminary, the English statesmen resolved formally to execute a resignation of all claims of dominion and superiority which had been assumed over the kingdom of Scotland, and agreed that all muniments or public instruments asserting or tending to support such a claim should be delivered up. This agreement was subscribed by the king on the 4th of March, 1328. Peace was afterward concluded at Edinburgh the 17th of March, 1328, and ratified at a parliament held at Northampton, the 4th of May, 1328. It was confirmed by a match agreed upon between the Prin-

cess Joanna, sister to Edward III., and David, son of Robert I., though both were as yet infants. Articles of strict amity were settled between the nations, without prejudice to the effect of the alliance between Scotland and France. Bruce renounced the privilege of assisting rebels of England, should such arise in Ireland, and Edward the power of encouraging those of the isles who might rise against Scotland. It was stipulated that all the charters and documents carried from Scotland by Edward I. should be restored, and the king of England was pledged to give his aid in the court of Rome toward the recall of the excommunication awarded against King Robert. Lastly, Scotland was to pay a sum of twenty thousand pounds, in consideration of these favorable terms. The borders were to be maintained in strict order on both sides, and the fatal coronation-stone was to be restored to Scotland. There was another separate obligation on the Scottish side, which led to most serious consequences in the subsequent reign. The seventh article of the peace of Northampton provided that certain English barons, Thomas, Lord Wake of Lidel, Henry de Beaumont, earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy, should be restored to the lands and heritages in Scotland, whereof they had been deprived during the war by the king of Scots seizing them into his own hand. The execution of this article was deferred by the Scottish king, who was not, it may be conceived, very willing again to introduce English nobles as landholders into Scotland. The English mob, on their part, resisted the removal of the fatal stone from Westminster, where it had been deposited; a pertinacity which "superstitious eld" believed was its own punishment, since, with slow but sure attraction, the mystic influence of the magnetic palladium drew the Scottish Solomon, James VI., to the sovereignty in the kingdom where it was deposited. The deed called Ragman's Roll, being the list of the barons and men of note who subscribed the submission to Edward I. in 1296, was, however, delivered up to the Scots; and a more important pledge, the English princess Joanna, then only seven years

old, was placed in the custody of Bruce, to be united at a fitting age to her boy-bridegroom, David, who was himself two years younger.

The treaty of peace made at Northampton has been termed dishonorable to England, by her historians. But stipulations that are just and necessary in themselves cannot infer dishonor, however disadvantageous they may be. The treaty of Northampton was just, because the English had no title to the superiority of Scotland; and it was necessary, because Edward III. had no force to oppose the Scottish army, but was compelled to lie within the fortifications of York, and see the invaders destroy the country nearly to the banks of the Humber. What is alike demanded by justice and policy it may be mortifying but cannot be dishonorable to concede; and before passing so heavy a censure on the Northampton parliament, these learned writers ought to have considered whether England possessed any right over Scotland; and, secondly, whether that which they claimed was an adequate motive for continuing an unsuccessful war.

Bruce seemed only to wait for the final deliverance of his country, to close his heroic career. He had retired, probably, for the purpose of enjoying a milder climate, to his castle of Cardross, on the Firth of Clyde, near Dumbarton. Here he lived in princely retirement, and, entertaining the nobles with rude hospitality, relieved by liberal doles of food the distresses of the poor. Nautical affairs seem to have engaged his attention very much, and he built vessels, with which he often went on the adjacent firth. He practiced falconry, being unequal to sustain the fatigue of hunting. We may add, for everything is interesting where Robert Bruce is the subject, that he kept a lion, and a fool named Patrick, as regular parts of his establishment. Meantime his disease (a species of leprosy, as we have already said, which had origin in the hardships and privations which he had sustained for so many years) gained ground upon his remaining strength.

When he found his end drew nigh, that great king summoned his barons and peers around him, and affectionately recommended his son to their care, then singling out the good Lord James of Douglas, fondly entreated of him, as his old friend and companion in arms, to cause the heart to be taken from his body after death, conjuring him to take the charge of transporting it to Palestine in redemption of the vow which he had made to go in person thither, when he was disentangled from the cares brought on him by the English wars. "Now the hour is come," he said, "I cannot avail myself of the opportunity, but must send my heart thither in place of my body; and a better knight than you, my dear and tried friend and comrade, to execute such a commission, the world holds not." All who were present wept bitterly around the bed, while the king, with almost his dying words, bequeathed this melancholy task to his best-beloved follower and champion. On the 7th of June, 1329, died Robert Bruce, at the almost premature age of fifty-five. He was buried at Dunfermline, where his tomb was opened in our time, and his relics again interred amid all the feelings of awe and admiration which such a sight tended naturally to inspire.

Remarkable in many things, there was this almost peculiar to Robert Bruce, that his life was divided into three distinct parts, which could scarcely be considered as belonging to the same individual. His youth was thoughtless, hasty, and fickle, and from the moment he began to appear in public life until the slaughter of the Red Comyn, and his final assumption of the crown, he appeared to have entertained no certain purpose beyond that of shifting with the shifting tide, like the other barons around him, ready, like them, to enter into hasty plans for the liberation of Scotland from the English yoke; but equally prompt to submit to the overwhelming power of Edward. Again, in a short but very active period of his life, he displayed the utmost steadiness, firmness, and constancy, sustaining, with unabated patience and determination, the loss of battles, the death of friends,

the disappointment of hopes, and an uninterrupted series of disasters, which scarce a ray of hope appeared to brighten. This term of suffering extended from the field of Methven Wood till his return to Scotland from the island of Rachrin, after which time his career, whenever he was himself personally engaged, was almost uniformly successful, even till he obtained the object of his wishes—the secure possession of an independent throne.

When these things are considered, we shall find reason to conclude that the misfortunes of the second or suffering period of Bruce's life had taught him lessons of constancy, of prudence, and of moderation, which were unknown to his early years, and tamed the hot and impetuous fire which his temper, like that of his brother Edward, naturally possessed. He never permitted the injuries of Edward I. (although three brothers had been cruelly executed by that monarch's orders) to provoke him to measures of retaliation; and his generous conduct to the prisoners at Bannockburn, as well as elsewhere, reflected equal honor on his sagacity and humanity. His manly spirit of chivalry was best evinced by a circumstance which happened in Ireland, where, when pursued by a superior force of English, he halted and offered battle at disadvantage, rather than abandon a poor washerwoman, who had been taken with the pains of labor, to the cruelty of the native Irish.

Robert Bruce's personal accomplishments in war stood so high, that he was universally esteemed one of the three best knights of Europe during that martial age, and gave many proofs of personal prowess. His achievements seem amply to vindicate this high estimation, since the three Highlanders slain in the retreat from Dalry, and Sir Henry de Bohun killed by his hand in front of the English army, evince the valorous knight, as the plans of his campaigns exhibit the prudent and sagacious leader. The Bruce's skill in the military art was of the highest order; and in his testament, as it is called, he bequeathed a legacy to his countrymen, which, had they known how to avail

themselves of it, would have saved them the loss of many a bloody day.

These verses are thus given by Mr. Tytler. I have, for the sake of rendering them intelligible, adopted the plan of modern spelling, retaining the ancient language. The original verses are in Latin leonines.

"On foot should be all Scottish weire,[1]
By hill and moss themselves to bear:
Let wood for walls be—bow and spear
And battle-axe their fighting gear:
That enemies do them no drear,[2]
In strait place cause keep all store,
And burn the plain land them before;
Then shall they pass away in haste,
When that they nothing find but waste;
With wiles and wakening of the night,
And mickle noises made on height;
Then shall they turn with great affray,
As they were chased with sword away.
This is the council and intent
Of good King Robert's testament."

If, however, his precepts could not save the Scottish nation from military losses, his example taught them to support the consequences with unshaken constancy. It is, indeed, to the example of this prince, and to the events of a reign so dear to Scotland, that we can distinctly trace that animated love of country which has been ever since so strong a characteristic of North Britons that it has been sometimes supposed to limit their affections and services so exclusively within the limits of their countrymen as to render that partiality a reproach which, liberally exercised, is subject for praise. In the day of Alexander III. and his predecessors, the various tribes whom these kings commanded were divided from each other by language and manners: it was only by residing within the same common country that they were forced into some sort of connection: but after Bruce's death we find little more mention of Scots, Galwegians, Picts, Saxons, or Strath-Clyde Britons. They had all, with the exception of the Highlanders, merged into the

[1] War. [2] Harm.

single denomination of Scots, and spoke generally the Anglo-Scottish language. This great change had been produced by the melting down of all petty distinctions and domestic differences in the crucible of necessity. In the wars with England all districts of the country had been equally oppressed, and almost all had been equally distinguished in combating and repelling the common enemy. There was scarce a district of Scotland that had not seen the Bruce's banner displayed, and had not sent forth brave men to support it; and so extensive were the king's wanderings, so numerous his travels, so strongly were felt the calls on which men were summoned from all quarters to support him, that petty distinctions were abolished; and the state, which, consisting of a variety of half-independent tribes, resembled an ill-constructed fagot, was now consolidated into one strong and inseparable stem, and deserved the name of a kingdom.

It is true that the great distinction between the Saxon and Gaelic races in dress, speech, and manner, still separated the Highlander from his lowland neighbor; but even this leading line of separation was considerably softened and broken in upon, during the civil wars and the reign of Robert Bruce. The power of the Macdougals, who had before Bruce's accession acted as independent chiefs, making peace and war at their pleasure, was broken both in Galloway and Argyleshire. The powerful Campbell, of Norman descent, but possessed of large Highland possessions by marriage with the heiress of a Celtic chief called Dermid O'Duine, obtained great part of their Argyleshire possessions, and being allied to the royal family, did much to secure the people of that country from relapsing into the barbarous independence of their ancestors. There were other great lowland barons settled in the Celtic regions, of whom it may be briefly remarked, that, like the Anglo-Norman barons who settled in Ireland beyond the margin of the Pale,[1] they speedily assumed the Celtic manners, assumed

[1] These are said in an act of parliament to have become *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*, more Irish in their habits than the Irish themselves.

the authority of mountain-chiefs, so flattering to human pride, and, to conclude, adopted the titles and genealogies, however far-fetched, or even if actually forged, by which bards and seannachies connected their ancestry with the names of ancient Celtic heroes, whose descendants were entitled to honor and obedience. Yet still the Campbells and other great lowland or Norman families who were settled in the Highlands did not dream of pursuing the wild conduct, or aiming at the absolute independence affected by the Macdougals and other native princes among the Gael. The former owned the king's authority, and procured from the sovereign delegated powers under which they strengthened themselves, and governed, or, as it happened, oppressed, their neighbors. Thus the Highlands, though still a most disorderly part of Scotland, acknowledged in a great degree the authority of the king, which they had formerly disputed and contemned.

But the principal consolidating effect of this long struggle lay in the union which it had a tendency to accomplish between the higher and inferior orders. The barons and knights had, as we have before remarked, lost in a great measure the habit of considering themselves as members of any particular kingdom, or subjects of any particular king, longer than while they held fiefs within his jurisdiction. By relinquishing their fiefs they conceived they were entitled to choose their own master; and the right which any monarch possessed to claim their duty in respect of the place of their birth did not, in their opinion, infer any irrefragable tie of allegiance. When they joined the king's standard at the head of their vassals, they accounted themselves the Norman leaders of a race of foreigners, whose descent they despised, and whom, compared to themselves, they accounted barbarians. These loose relations between the nobles and their followers were altered and drawn more tight when the effect of long-continued war, repeated defeats, undaunted renewal of efforts, and final attainment of success, bound such leaders as Douglas, Randolph, and Stewart to their warriors,

and their warriors to them. The faithful brotherhood which mutual dangers and mutual conquests created between the leader and the followers on the one hand, between the king and the barons on the other—the consciousness of a mutual object, which overcame all other considerations, and caused them to look upon themselves as men united in one common interest—taught them at the same time the universal duty of all ranks to their common country, and the sentiment so spiritedly expressed by the venerable biographer of Bruce himself:

> "Ah, freedom is a noble thing;
> Freedom makes men to have liking.
> To man all solace Freedom gives:
> He lives at ease who freely lives;
> And he that aye has lived free,
> May not well know the misery,
> The wrath, the hate, the spite, and all
> That's compass'd in the name of thrall."[1]

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[1] These spirited lines are somewhat modernized.

CHAPTER XIII

Douglas sets out on his Pilgrimage with the Bruce's Heart: is killed in Spain—Randolph assumes the Regency—Claims of the disinherited English Barons: they resolve to invade Scotland, and are headed by Edward Baliol—Death of Randolph—Earl of Mar chosen Regent—Battle of Dupplin Moor—Earl of March retreats from before Perth—Edward Baliol is chosen King, but instantly expelled—Sir Andrew Moray chosen Regent by the Royalists, but is made Prisoner—Siege of Berwick by the English—Battle of Halidon Hill—Great Loss of the Scots—The Loyalists only hold four Castles in Scotland—Edward Baliol cedes to England the southern Parts of Scotland—Quarrel among the Anglo-Scottish Barons—Liberation of Sir Andrew Moray—Randolph, Earl of Moray, and the Stewart are Regents—The Loyalists are active and successful—Defence of Lochleven—Defeat of Guy, Earl of Namur, on the Borough Moor—Earl of Athol (David de Strathbogie) defeated and slain

THE parliamentary settlement at Cambuskenneth had nominated Randolph as regent of the kingdom; a choice which could not have been amended: but after-circumstances occasioned it to be much regretted that, by devolving on Douglas the perilous and distant expedition to Palestine, Bruce's bequest should have deprived the country of the services of the only noble who could have replaced those of the Earl of Moray in case of death or indisposition. And attention is so much riveted on this most unhappy circumstance, for such it certainly proved, that authors have endeavored to reconcile it to the sagacity of Robert Bruce, by imputing it to a refinement of policy on his part. They suppose that, fearing jealousy and emulation between Douglas and Randolph, when he himself was no longer on the scene, he found an honorable pretext to remove Douglas from Scotland, that Randolph, his nephew, might exercise

undisputed authority. The recollection of the field of Stirling, where Douglas reined up his horse, lest he should seem to share Randolph's victory over Clifford; that, too, of Biland Abbey, where Randolph joined Douglas with only four squires, and served under him as a volunteer, seem to give assurance that these brave men were incapable of any emulation dangerous to their country or prejudicial to their loyalty; and it will be probably thought that Bruce nourished no such apprehensions, but, lying an excommunicated man upon his deathbed, was induced to propitiate Heaven by some act of devotion of unusual solemnity; a course so consistent with the religious doctrines universally received at the time that it requires no further explanation.

The issue of the expedition was nevertheless most disastrous to Scotland. The good Lord James, having the precious heart under his charge, set out for Palestine with a gallant retinue, and observing great state. He landed at Seville in his voyage, and learning that King Alphonso was at war with the Moors, his zeal to encounter the infidels induced him to offer his services. They were honorably and thankfully accepted; but having involved himself too far in pursuit of the retreating enemy, Douglas was surrounded by numbers of the infidels when there were not ten of his own suite left around his person; yet he might have retreated in safety had he not charged, with the intention of rescuing Sir William Sinclair, whom he saw borne down by a multitude. But the good knight failed in his generous purpose, and was slain by the superior number of the Moors. Scotland never lost a better worthy, at a period when his services were more needed. He united the romantic accomplishments of a knight of chivalry with the more solid talents of a great military leader. The relics of his train brought back the heart of the Bruce with the body of his faithful follower to their native country. The heart of the king was deposited in Melrose Abbey, and the corpse of Douglas was laid in the tomb of his ancestors, in the church of the same name. The good Lord James of Douglas left no legitimate issue; but a

natural son of his, distinguished by the title of the Knight of Liddisdale, makes an important figure in the following pages, having inherited his father's military talents and courage, but unfortunately without possessing his pure and high-spirited sentiments of chivalrous loyalty.

We have dwelt at considerable length on the reign of Robert Bruce, so interesting from its strange variety of incident, and the important effects which it produced upon the kingdom of Scotland, which was in the course of the war so much agitated in all its provinces, that, as we before observed, all the slighter distinctions of the lowland inhabitants, so well defined in the earlier times, were broken down, dissolved, and merged in the grand national division of Britons into Scot and Englishman.

Randolph assumed the government of Scotland with the cautious wisdom which might have been expected from his experience. He was conscious that Edward III., though prudently observing the treaty of Northampton, felt its articles as a shameful dereliction of Edward I.'s claims, and that the people of England regarded it as a dishonorable composition, patched up by Queen Isabella and her usurping favorite, Mortimer, without regard to national honor, in order to get rid of the encumbrance of the Scottish war. Randolph also knew that the families of Comyns, still numerous and powerful in Scotland, had not forgotten the death of one kinsman at Dumfries, and the defeat of another, the Earl of Buchan, at Old Meldrum, with the general diminution of their family consequence. The young king's coronation was, however, solemnized at Scone (1331), with that of his youthful consort, Queen Joanna, and every precaution was used to render the government secure and stable. The precautions were necessary, for a tempest was impending.

We have stated that an article in the treaty of Northampton stipulated that the Lords Beaumont and Wake of Liddel, with Sir Henry Percy, should be restored to their estates in Scotland, which had been declared forfeited by Robert Bruce. Of the three, Percy alone had been restored. It certainly

appears that Robert Bruce had protracted the execution of this part of the treaty of Northampton with a degree of delay, for which it was easy to assign reasons in policy, though it might have been difficult to support them in equity. Lord Wake claimed the valley of Liddel, which formed the readiest gate into the Scottish west borders. Beaumont, a rich and powerful baron, claimed the earldom of Buchan, a remote district, where he might have supported himself in a species of independence, and caused much trouble to the Scottish government. Both were foreigners and Englishmen, and there was certainly risk in introducing them into the bosom of the kingdom. But this, though a reason for not having consented to the article, afforded no ground for departing from it. Mortimer's administration, who did not favor Beaumont, showed no desire to press his claim on Robert Bruce. But after Mortimer's fall, in 1330, the restoration of Beaumont and Wake was positively demanded by the young king. The Scottish regent had by this time acquired information that the English lords in question, and others, had engaged in a conspiracy to invade Scotland and dethrone, if possible, his youthful ward; a hostile enterprise which authorized Randolph to refuse the restitution demanded at such a conjuncture.

To understand the nature of this undertaking, the reader must be informed (and here a remarkable name in Scottish history again occurs) that John de Baliol, for a short time the vassal king of Scotland, died in obscurity at his hereditary castle in Normandy, shortly after the decisive battle of Bannockburn, leaving a son, Edward. With the hope of intimidating Bruce, Edward II. sent to Normandy for this young man, who then displayed a bold and adventurous character; and the younger Baliol accordingly appeared at the English court in 1324, and again in 1327, where, as the person among the disinherited who in his father's deposition had suffered the greatest forfeiture of all, though not at the hand of King Robert, he naturally took a lead in the undertaking of Wake, Beaumont, and the other lords and knights, who, like them,

desired restoration of Scottish estates, though they could not, like them, plead the advantage of the express clause in the treaty of Northampton. These high-spirited and adventurous barons, assembling a small force of three hundred horse and a few foot-soldiers, determined with such slender means to attempt the subjugation of a kingdom which had of late repeatedly defied the whole strength of England.

Edward III. temporized. Under pretence of strictly observing the truce between the kingdoms, he prohibited the disinherited barons entering Scotland by the land frontier, but connived at their embarking at the obscure seaport of Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber, and sailing from thence in quest of the adventures which fortune should send them.

Although the attempt seemed a desperate one, the regent Randolph took even more than necessary pains to prepare for it. But the best means of resistance lay in his own high talents and long experience, and of the advantages of these his country was deprived in an evil hour. He died at Musselburgh, in 1332, when leading the Scottish army northward, to provide against the threatened descent of Baliol and his followers. A demise so critical was generally ascribed to poison; and a fugitive monk was pointed out as the alleged perpetrator of the deed.

It seemed as if the sound governance, military talent, and even common defence of the Scottish people, had died with Robert Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph. The veteran soldiers, indeed, survived, but without their leaders, and as useless as a blade deprived of its hilt: and the nobility, who had universally submitted to the talents of Randolph, now broke out into factious emulation. After much jealous cabal, Donald, earl of Mar, a man of very ordinary talent, although nephew to Robert Bruce, was elevated to the regency. This took place at Perth; and the ill-omened election was scarce made, when the Scots nobles learned that Baliol and the disinherited barons had entered the Firth of Forth on July 31, disembarked at Kinghorn, defeated the

Earl of Fife, and, marching across the country, were encamped near Forteviot, with the river Earne in their front. Their host had been joined by many adherents, but did not in all amount to more than three thousand men. With an army more than ten times as numerous, the Earl of Mar encamped upon Dupplin Moor, on the opposite or right bank of the river; while a second army, composed of southern barons, led by the Earl of March, was arrived within eight miles of the enemy's left flank. A more desperate situation could scarce be conceived than that of Baliol, and he relieved himself by a resolution which seemed to be as desperate. A stake planted by a secret adherent of the disinherited lords in a ford of the Earne indicated a secure place of crossing. The English army passed the river at midnight, on August 12, and in profound silence, and surprised the camp of their numerous enemies, who were taken at unawares, dizzy with sleep and wassail; for they had passed a night of intemperance, and totally neglected posting sentinels. The English made a most piteous carnage among their unresisting enemies. The young Earl of Moray showed the spirit of his father, and collecting his followers, at the head of a dauntless but small body, drove back the enemy. But the incapacity of the Earl of Mar, who in the doubtful light of the dawning bore down in a confused mass without rule or order, overwhelmed instead of supporting Randolph and his little body of brave adherents. Opposition ended, the rout became totally irretrievable, and the swords of the enemy were blunted with slaughter. The loss of the Scottish army, much of which was occasioned by their being trodden down and stifled in their own disordered ranks, was about thirteen thousand men, being more than four times the entire amount of the army of Baliol.

After the battle of Dupplin, the invaders took possession of Perth without opposition. The fortifications of the place having been destroyed by Bruce, according to his usual policy, it was hastily protected with some palisades by its new masters. They were busied in this task when the southern

army, led by the Earl of March, as before mentioned, was seen approaching the place. The English apprehended an instant, and, probably, an effectual assault. But when Beaumont saw the advancing banners halt on the high ground in the vicinity of the town, "Have no fear of these men," said the English lord; "we have friends among them." This was shortly after made apparent by the retreat of the Earl of March, acting, it was supposed, in concert with the invader. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the fleet of the disinherited, which had coasted Fife, and was lying in the Tay, by Crab, the Flemish engineer who defended Berwick in the former reign. He succeeded in taking a fine vessel, called the Beaumont's cogue, but was defeated in his attempt on the others, and obliged to fly to Berwick.

The Earl of March led back and dispersed his army, and afterward showed his real sentiments by acceding once more to the English interest. It was not, however, till the Scots lost the battle of Halidon Hill that this powerful earl and other barons on the eastern marches of Scotland, who had late and unwillingly exchanged their allegiance to England for that to the Bruce, were, now that the constraint imposed by his authority was removed, desirous of returning to their dependence on the English crown, which they found, probably, more nominal than that exacted by their closer neighbors, the Scottish monarchs.

The foreign invasion having thus succeeded, though made on a scale wonderfully in contrast with the extent of the means prepared, the domestic conspiracy was made manifest. The family of Comyn in all its branches, all who resented the proceedings against David de Brechin and the other conspirators condemned by the Black Parliament; all who had suffered injury, or what they termed such, in the disturbed and violent times, when so much evil was inflicted and suffered on both sides; all, finally, who nourished ambitious projects of rising under the new government, or had incurred neglect during the old one, joined in conducting

Edward Baliol to Scone, where he was crowned king in their presence, when (grief and shame to tell!) Sinclair, prelate of Dunkeld, whom the Bruce, on account of his gallantry, termed his own bishop, officiated at the ceremony of crowning a usurper, to the prejudice of his heroic patron's son.

However marvellous or mortifying this revolution certainly was, it was of a nature far more temporary than that which was effected by Edward I. after the battle of Falkirk. Then all seemed hopeless; and if some patriots still resisted, it was more in desperation than hope of success. Then, though there was a desire to destroy the English yoke, yet there was no agreement or common purpose as to the monarch or mode of government to be substituted. Now there was no room for hesitation. The sound part of the kingdom, which was by far the larger portion, was fixed in the unanimous and steady resolution to replace upon the throne the race of the deliverer of Scotland. And the faith of those who adopted this generous resolution, although not uniformly unchangeable, was yet, as already mentioned, constancy itself, contrasted with the vacillations of former times.

Edward Baliol, in temporary possession of the Scottish crown, speedily showed his unworthiness to wear it. He hastened to the border, to which Edward III. was now advancing, with an army, to claim the lion's share among the disinherited barons, to whom he had afforded private countenance in their undertaking, and whose ultimate success was finally to depend upon his aid. Unwarned by his father's evil fortune, Edward Baliol renewed in all form the subjugation of the kingdom of Scotland, took on himself the feudal fetters which even his father had found it too degrading to endure; and became bound, under an enormous penalty, to serve King Edward in his wars, he himself with two hundred, and his successors with one hundred men-at-arms, and to extend and strengthen the English frontiers by the cession of Berwick, and lands to the annual amount of two thousand pounds.

Having made this mean bargain with the king of England, and thereby, as he thought, secured himself the powerful assistance of that nation, Baliol was lying carelessly encamped at Annan, when he was surprised by a body of royalist horse, which had assembled at Moffat, and among whose leaders we find a young Randolph, second son of the regent, and brother to him who fell at Dupplin, an Archibald Douglas, brother to the good Lord James, a Simon Fraser, and others, whose names remind us of the wars of King Robert. Henry Baliol, brother of the intrusive king, was slain fighting bravely in his defence; many others of his followers were killed or made prisoners, and Edward himself was fain to escape to the English borders almost naked. Thus was Edward Baliol an exile and a fugitive, having scarcely possessed his usurped crown for three months.

Meantime the royalists had found a trustworthy leader in Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. In his youth he had been the companion of Wallace, and afterward the faithful follower of Bruce, who acknowledged his attachment by preferring him to the hand of his sister Christina, a widow, by the death of the heroic Christopher Seaton. Sir Andrew Moray was a soldier of the Bruce's school, calm, sagacious, and dauntlessly brave. His first measure of importance was to remove the persons of the young king and queen to France, where the faith of Philip was engaged for their safety and honorable maintenance. His next undertaking was less fortunate. He made an attempt to take by surprise the castle of Roxburgh, into which Baliol had then thrown himself, and imprudently engaged his own person in the dangerous enterprise. Seeing a valiant esquire in his service, named Ralph Golding, endangered during the assault by a superior number of English, Sir Andrew pressed forward to his rescue, and was made prisoner, to the infinite prejudice of the royal cause; his place being poorly supplied by Archibald Douglas, although a brave soldier, and brother to the good Lord James. It was a great additional misfortune that, a short time after,

in a severe battle which was fought on the borders, the knight of Liddisdale (Sir William Douglas, natural son of the good Lord James) was defeated in a considerable action, and made prisoner. He was treated with great rigor, and detained captive for two years. Thus was Scotland deprived, in her hour of utmost need, of two more of her choicest soldiers.

Edward III. now prepared to assist his vassal Baliol, and, assembling a large army, May, 1333, came before Berwick, the securing of which place the Scots deemed justly an object of primary consequence, since Baliol had consented to surrender it to England. The Earl of March, whose apostasy was not yet suspected, was governor of the Castle of Berwick, and Sir Alexander Seaton of the town. They defended the place strenuously, and burned a large vessel with which the English assaulted the walls from the sea. But the garrison were reduced to such distress that they were compelled, according to the custom of the time, to agree to surrender, if not relieved by a certain day, and hostages were delivered to that effect, the son of Seaton, the governor, being one. Before the time appointed, the numerous army of Scotland appeared in sight of Berwick, and succeeded in throwing some knights and soldiers into the place. One of the former, Sir William Keith, assumed the command of the town.

But the caution of the English, who kept within their trenches and refused a general action, prevented the relief from accomplishing the raising of the siege. In order to effect this object, Douglas, imitating the policy of the Bruce in the like circumstances, entered Northumberland, and committed ravages, threatening to attack the castle of Bamborough, where the young English queen, Philippa, was at that time residing. But the strength of Bamborough defied a siege, and the regent presently received tidings from Berwick, announcing that, the place being reduced to extremity, King Edward had summoned the garrison to surrender, upon the treaty formerly entered into. They refused,

alleging that they had received relief and reinforcements. The English king insisted that the succors thrown in not being sufficiently effectual to raise the siege, they were bound to yield up the place, just as much as if they had not been relieved at all; and he summoned them to absolute surrender, on the pain of putting to death the hostages. The Scotch historians say, that Edward actually did put young Seaton to death, within such short distance that his father might see the execution from the walls. But there is some obscurity resting on this cruel anecdote. Certain it is, that the citizens of Berwick, anxious for the fate of their own children, who were also among the number of hostages, became desirous to surrender, and refused any longer to defend the place. A second negotiation was entered into, whereby it was agreed that Berwick should be unconditionally surrendered, unless the Scots could succeed in reinforcing the town with two hundred men-at-arms, or defeating the English in a pitched battle under its walls.

Forgetting or disregarding the earnest admonition of King Robert, the regent Douglas resolved, on June 19, to commit the fate of the country to the risk of a decisive conflict. On crossing the Tweed and approaching Berwick on the northern side, the Scottish regent became aware of the army of England drawn up in four great battalions, with numerous bodies of archers to flank them. The ground which they occupied was the crest of an eminence called Halidon Hill. The Scots stationed themselves on the opposite ridge of high ground: the bottom which divided the hills was a morass. On the morning of the 20th, the Scots, with inconsiderate impetuosity, advanced to the onset. By doing so they exposed their whole army, while descending the hill and crossing the morass, to the constant and formidable discharge of the English archers, against whom they had no similar force to oppose. The inevitable consequence was, that they lost their ranks, and became embarrassed in the morass, where many were slain. But the nobles, who fought on foot in complete armor at the head of their follow-

ers, made a desperate effort to lead a great part of the army through the bog, and ascended the opposite hill. They came to close battle with the English, who, calm and in perfect order, were not long in repulsing an attack made by disordered ranks and breathless soldiers. The Scottish, after finding their efforts vain, endeavored to retreat. In the meantime, the pages and camp followers, who held the horses of the combatants, seeing the battle lost, began to fly, and carry off the horses along with them, without respect to the safety of their masters; so that the carnage in this bloody battle was very great, and numbers of the gentry and nobility fell.

The venerable Earl of Lennox, the faithful companion of Robert Bruce, the Earls of Ross, Carrick, Sutherland, Monteith, and Athol, were all slain, together with knights and barons to a countless number, and all with a trifling loss on the part of the English. The regent, Douglas himself, wounded and made prisoner, died soon after he was taken. Berwick surrendered in consequence of this decisive action, and the Earl of March, governor of the castle, returned openly to the English interest, and was admitted to Edward's favor and confidence.

The Scots had suffered a loss in this action which was deemed by the English totally irrecoverable. "The Scottish wars are ended," said the public voice, "since no one of that nation remains having interest enough to raise an army, or skill sufficient to command one."

Through all Scotland, so lately the undisputed dominion of the Bruce, only four castles and a strong tower which did not reach to the importance of such a title, remained in possession of the royalists who adhered to his unfortunate son. These were, the impregnable fortresses of Dunbarton, which was secured by Malcolm Fleming; Lochleven, on an island in the lake of that name, defended by Alan de Vipont; Urquhart in Inverness, commanded by Thomas Lander; and Kildrummie, by Christina, the sister of King Robert Bruce, successively the widow of the Earl of Mar and of

Christopher Seaton, and now the wife of the imprisoned Sir Andrew Moray. The fifth stronghold was at Lochdown, in Carrick, which John Thomson, a man of obscure birth and dauntless valor, the same apparently who led back from Ireland the shattered remainder of Edward Bruce's army, held out for his rightful sovereign.

Amid this scene of apparent submission, Edward Baliol held a mock parliament at Edinburgh for the gratification of his ally, the king of England. The obligation of homage and feudal service to the king of England was undertaken by Edward Baliol in the fullest extent; the town of Berwick was given up; and as King Edward was desirous to hold a large portion of Scotland under his immediate and direct authority, Baliol, by a solemn instrument, made an absolute surrender to England of the frontier provinces of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Peebleshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with Lothian itself, in all its three divisions; thus yielding up the whole land between the northern and southern Roman rampart, and restricting Scotland to the possessions beyond the estuaries of Forth and Clyde, inhabited of old by the free Caledonians. For the remnants of the kingdom, thus mutilated and dismembered, Baliol paid homage. At the same parliament, Baliol, by ample cessions and distributions of territory, gratified the disinherited lords, to whose valor he owed his extraordinary success.

A quarrel arose among these proud barons which had important consequences. The brother of Alexander de Mowbray died leaving daughters, but no male issue. Baliol preferred the brother of the deceased to his fiefs, as the heir male. Henry de Beaumont and David Hastings de Strathbogie, earls of Buchan and Athol, espoused the cause of the female heirs; and as Baliol would not listen to them, they left the court in that state of irritation which is easily excited between such powerful subjects and a king of their own making. Alarmed at their defection, Baliol altered his decision, dismissed Alexander de Mowbray's claim, and

thereby made him his mortal enemy, while he obtained only a dubious reconciliation with his opponents.

About this time Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, made prisoner, as we have seen, at Roxburgh, escaped or was liberated from prison; and his appearance in Scotland, with the discord among the English barons, was a signal for a general insurrection of the royalists. Moray was joined by the discontented Mowbray. Richard Talbot, marching southward, was attacked and defeated by William Keith of Galston, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick. Sir Andrew Moray, with his new ally, Mowbray, besieged the powerful Henry de Beaumont in his fortress of Dundearg in Buchan, and by cutting off the supplies of water compelled him to surrender, and put him to a great ransom. The impulse became general through Scotland. The Brandanes or men of Bute arose against the English captain, slew him, and sent his head to their master, the steward of Scotland. In Annandale and in Ayrshire, where Bruce had his family estates, the royalists gathered on every side. The steward had distinguished himself by his bravery and generosity of disposition. By universal approbation of the royalists, this gallant and amiable young man was associated in the regency. The young Earl of Moray, son of the heroic Randolph, was returned from France, whither he had fled after the battle of Halidon Hill, and pushed David Hastings of Strathbogie so hard, that he not only compelled him to surrender, but found means to induce him to join the conqueror. Baliol, having seen the defeat of Talbot, the captivity of Beaumont, and the defection of the three most powerful of the *disinherited*, lost courage, and fled into England, thereby showing plainly how slight was his reliance on any support save such as came from that kingdom, and how steadily the great bulk of the Scottish nation were attached to the legitimate heir of Bruce.

In November, 1334, Edward III. advanced into Scotland for the double purpose of sustaining his vassal, and of securing those southern parts of Scotland which were ceded to

him in property and full dominion. He met no opposition, for the Scots brought no army to the field; but he was assailed by want, and the stormy weather incident to the season; and so little was Edward's reputation raised by this incursion, that the Earl of March, a nobleman uniformly guided by his own interest, chose that very crisis to renounce the allegiance of England. This time-serving baron probably foresaw the danger of his own power, since it was not likely that Edward would permit him to hold influence in a country which he was desirous in future of annexing to England, although he had little cared how loose the earl's uncontrolled allegiance sat on him while he was a vassal of Scotland.

Alan de Vipont, a Scottish royalist, who defended Lochleven Castle against the English, is said about this time to have been pressed hard by a John de Stirling, a Scottishman apparently, but commanding an army for Baliol: the garrison was straitened by a fort in the churchyard at Kinross; and it is alleged by an embankment drawn across the source of the river Leven, where it issues from the lake, the purpose of which was, to lay under water the island and castle, and thereby to make surrender inevitable. But Vipont took the opportunity of a cloudy night to send a boat unperceived down the lake, and cut through the embankment. The accumulated waters broke down in a furious inundation, which swept away the mound, and along with it the enemies who were quartered there for its defence. There are certainly some vestiges, at the exit of the Leven from the lake, which seem to confirm this singular tradition. Some historians only mention the destruction of the English fort by a sally from the garrison, without speaking of the embankment or inundation.

The chiefs of the loyal Scots now assembled a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife, April, 1335, in order to settle upon a combined plan of operations for the liberation of the country. But their counsels came to no useful or steady result, chiefly owing to the presumption of David de Strathbogie, earl of

Athol, who assumed a species of superiority which the Scottish nobles could not endure. The parliament broke up in great disorder. It may be that this discord was attended with some consequences indirectly advantageous to Scotland. As the parliament could not agree upon raising a large army, they could not commit the imprudence of risking a general action.

In the summer succeeding, on July 1, 1335, Edward again invaded Scotland on the east marches; while Baliol, with a body of Welsh troops and foreigners, entered on the west. They laid waste the country with fire and sword with emulous severity. The Scots kept King Robert's testament in recollection; and lurking among the woods and valleys, they fell by surprise upon such English as separated themselves from the main body, or straggled from the march in their thirst for plunder.

In the end of July, a large body of Flemish men-at-arms landed at Berwick, in the capacity of auxiliaries to England. These strangers, commanded by Guy, count of Namur, conceiving the country entirely undefended, advanced fearlessly to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, the castle having been demolished. Count Guy had scarce arrived there, when an army of Scottish royalists, commanded by the Earls of Moray and March and Sir Alexander Ramsay, attacked him. The battle took place on the Borough Moor, and was fiercely disputed for some time; till the Knight of Liddisdale, who had escaped or been released from his English captivity, swept down from the Pentland Hills, and turned the scale of battle. The Flemings retired into the city, and fought their way as they retreated up to the hill where the castle lay in ruins. A close encounter took place during the whole way, and tradition long pointed out the spot at the foot of the Bow, where David de Annand, a Scottish knight of superhuman strength, struck down with his battle-axe one of these mailed foreigners, killing horse and man, and shattering a huge flagstone in the pavement, by a single blow. The Flemings erected a breastwork or

fortification on the Castle Hill by killing their horses, and making a barricade of the carcasses. This, however, could be but a temporary resource, and they were speedily obliged to capitulate. The Scots treated their valiant prisoners with much courtesy, releasing them on their parole not to fight against David, and sending an escort to see the foreigners safe into England. Unhappily, the regent Earl of Moray went himself with the party, and on his return toward Lothian, after dismissing the Flemings, was attacked by William de Pressen, commander of the English garrison of Jedburgh Castle, his followers routed, and himself made prisoner, and thrown into Bamborough Castle. Thus the services of the worthy successor of Randolph were, for a time, lost to his country. The English continued their ravages, and with such success that men were reduced to use that sort of lip-homage which the heart refuses. "If you asked a grown-up person," says an old historian, "who was his king, he dared to make no other answer save by naming Edward Baliol; while the undissembling frankness of childhood answered the same question with the name of David Bruce."

Scotland being in this low condition, and Edward having exercised such means of subduing the spirit of insurrection as could be brought against a disposition which showed itself everywhere, but was tangible nowhere, the English king began to think of returning to his own kingdom. But previously he received the submission of the versatile Earl of Athol, restored to that powerful nobleman his large English estates, and named him regent or governor of Scotland under Baliol. The steward, over whom this David de Strathbogie seems to have possessed but too much influence, was also induced, contrary to his interests, as nearly concerned in the succession, to acknowledge Baliol as his sovereign. After fortifying Perth, and rebuilding the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, Edward III. returned to his own dominions.

The irresistible pressure of immediate superiority of force

being once more removed, the spirit of determined resistance began again to manifest itself. The Scottish loyalists once more chose for their head Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the friend of Wallace, the brother-in-law of Bruce. Athol, eager to give himself consequence in the eyes of Edward and obliterate the recollection of his prior tergiversations, had determined to besiege the castle of Kildrummie in Aberdeenshire, the residence of Christina, the sister of Robert Bruce, and wife of Sir Andrew Moray. Moray, joined by the Earl of March and the Knight of Liddisdale, flew to the relief of the place. They assembled about fifteen hundred followers, partly men of Lothian and Berwickshire, partly from the territory of Kildrummie. They came suddenly on the Earl of Athol, then lying in the forest of Kilblain, whose troops, suddenly and fiercely attacked in a species of pass, gave way on all sides. The Earl of Athol was steady in personal courage, though fickle in political attachment: he looked round with scorn on his fugitive followers, and striking his hand on a huge rock which lay near him, said, "Thou and I will this day fly together." Five knights of his household abode, fought, and fell with him, refusing all quarter. The death of the Earl of Athol was considered by the loyalists as a most favorable event, as his power, and latterly his inclination also, made him a sworn persecutor of their party.

Edward himself advanced to avenge the death of a powerful, if not a steady, partisan. He led into Scotland a numerous army, which wasted the country as far north as Inverness. But though he was an enemy skilful to omit no advantage which accident, the situation of ground, or the circumstances of weather afford, yet, in the far-sighted prudence of the experienced Sir Andrew Moray, Edward III. found a complete match for his youthful ardor, and was no more able to bring his sagacious opponent to action than he had been to engage Douglas and Randolph in the Northumbrian campaign of 1327. The following instance of Moray's skill, courage, and discipline, may give some idea of the com-

posure with which he baffled the ardent valor of the hero of Crecy.

When at Perth, Edward was informed that the Scottish regent was lying with his forces in the forest of Stronkaltire (probably a portion of the famous wood of Birnam), near the foot of the Grampians, and on the verge of the Highlands. The most skilful dispositions were made by the king to surround the enemy, and the English had already moved several divisions on different parts of the forest with a view to prevent their escape. Sir Andrew Moray was hearing mass in a chapel in the forest, when the Scottish scouts came to tell him of the approach of the enemy. He caused them to be silent till the divine service was finished. Mass being ended, his breathless messengers informed him that the English were at hand. "Be it so," said Moray; "no need of hurry." He then armed himself deliberately, and caused his war-horse to be brought him. When in the act of mounting, he perceived a girth had failed. With the utmost deliberation the veteran warrior called for a certain coffer, out of which he took a hide of leather, and having cut from it a strap proper for the purpose, sitting down on the bank, he composedly mended the girth with his own hands, although, to the great anxiety of all around him, news came in on all hands of the close approach of the enemy from different points; and old warriors, who were present, confessed to the historian, Winton, prior of Lochleven, that in their life they had never passed such anxious moments as during the mending of that saddle-girth. But Moray knew his time and his business, and when he mounted and placed himself at the head of his men, whom his own composure had taught to have the most undoubting reliance on him, he drew them up in a close column, and while the English sought an opportunity of attack, he led his band leisurely from their presence, and vanished in safety through a defile which he had kept open in his rear.

Edward III. penetrated as far as the rich province of Moray, carrying devastation wherever he came. But he

had then done the utmost which was in his power, and was compelled to retreat by the consequences to his own army of the very desolation which they themselves had made. He repaired the castles held by English garrisons through the kingdom, and marched back to England, leaving Scotland apparently quiet. But no sooner were the weight and presence of the English host withdrawn, than all the Scottish patriots were again in arms in every quarter of the country, assaulting and storming, or surprising by stratagem, the garrisons that had been left to overawe them, and proving that they were worthy to have been subjects of the Bruce, by the intelligence with which they executed his precepts. The regent distinguished himself in this war as much by his alertness in seizing opportunities of advantage, as he had done when opposed to Edward by the prudence which affords none to the enemy.

In the meantime war broke out between France and England. On the 7th of October, 1337, King Edward publicly asserted his claim to the throne of that kingdom; yet, with this new and more dazzling object in his view, he did not turn his eyes from the conquest of Scotland. The Earls of Salisbury, Arundel, and Norfolk, were intrusted with the command of the northern army, and the former laid siege to the strong castle of Dunbar, defended, in the absence of the Earl of March, by his wife, the daughter of the heroic Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and animated by a portion of his courage. This lady, whom the common people used to call Black Agnes of Dunbar, was one of those, by whose encouragement, according to a phrase of Froissart, a man may become of double strength in the hour of danger. She daily made the round of the walls in sight of besiegers and besieged, and caused the maidens of her train to wipe the battlements with their handkerchiefs, when the stones from the engines struck them, as if in scorn of the English artillery. At one time, by engaging him in a pretended plot to receive surrender of the castle from a traitorous party within, she had wellnigh made the Earl of Salisbury her

prisoner. On another occasion, an arrow shot by an archer of her train struck to the heart an English knight, in spite of his being completely armed. "There goes one of my lady's tiring-pins," said Montague, earl of Salisbury: "the countess's love-shafts pierce to the heart." At another time, the English advancing to the walls the machine called a sow (mentioned in the account of the siege of Berwick, p. 150), Agnes called out to the English lord in a sort of rhyme,

> "Beware, Montagow,
> For farrow shall thy sow." [1]

A huge rock, prepared for the occasion, was projected against the sow, and dashed the engine to pieces. The English general, having exhausted the invention of his engineers to no purpose, resolved to convert the siege into a blockade, and reduce Dunbar by famine. As he had a considerable fleet, he might have succeeded in his purpose; but the good knight, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey, contrived, by means of a light vessel and a dark night, to throw into the castle a supply of provisions and soldiers. This was announced to the besiegers by a sally; and they were so much disheartened as to raise the siege, which had lasted five months, and retire from before Dunbar with little honor.

Similar advantages were gained by the patriots all through Scotland. The state, indeed, sustained a heavy loss in the death of Sir Andrew Moray, the regent, who, after all his battles and dangers, expired in peace at his castle of Avoch, in Ross. Brother-in-law of the Bruce, and one of the last of his leaders, he evinced till his dying day the spirit of valor, sagacity, and patriotism, which merited that distinguished alliance. He is censured for the desolating and wasteful warfare which he carried on; but it must

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[1] The poetry may be original, but not the jest, the latter having been used on a similar occasion at the siege of Berwick, in 1319, when it was defended by the steward of Scotland against the English.

be remembered, that to burn the open country before the enemy was a principal maxim in Bruce's dreadful lessons of defensive war.

The steward of Scotland, freed from the baneful influence which the Anglicized Earl of Athol had exercised over him, was now chosen sole regent, and showed himself worthy of the trust. He commenced the siege of Perth, assisted by five ships of war and some men-at-arms, which were sent from France. The regent was assisted in pressing this siege by the abilities of William Bullock, an ecclesiastic who loved the battlefield or the political scenes of the cabinet better than mass or matins. Edward Baliol, who knew Bullock's abilities, had raised him to be his chancellor of Scotland and made him governor of a strong castle in Cupar. But when Edward's presence with an army failed to establish Baliol's power in Scotland, this military churchman became sagacious of an approaching change, stubborn fidelity being by no means the virtue of the day. His talents were employed by the regent in pressing on the siege of Stirling, which was boldly defended. He showed the hardihood of his character during a total eclipse of the sun, which took place in the midst of his operations. While all others, both in the besieging army and garrison, were sinking under their superstitious fears, Bullock took advantage of the darkness to wheel his military engines so close to the wall that when the sunshine returned the besieged found themselves under the necessity of surrendering. The steward was equally successful in reducing Stirling and other English posts to the north of the Forth, and bringing the whole country to the peace of King David.

Other Scottish leaders distinguished themselves in different provinces. Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddisdale, was active in the south of Scotland. He totally expelled the English from Teviotdale, reduced the strong castle of Hermitage, defeated Roland de Vaux, and having engaged Sir Laurence Abernethy, an Anglicized Scotsman, three times in one day, finally overcame him in a fourth encounter, made

him prisoner, and dispersed his followers. A still more important acquisition on the Scottish part was that of Edinburgh Castle, which Edward III. had fortified when in Scotland during his last campaign. The Knight of Liddisdale engaged a sturdy mariner, called John Currie, to receive into his bark a number of proved soldiers. John Currie, assuming the character of an English shipmaster, entered the castle with a number of men disguised in mariners' caps and habits, and bearing barrels and hampers supposed to contain wine and provisions: these they threw down in the gateway, so as to prevent the gates being shut, and, drawing their swords, rushed on the sentinels, and being seconded by the Knight of Liddisdale and some chosen men who lay in ambush near the entrance, they overpowered the English garrison and expelled them from the castle.

Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey, the same who gallantly relieved the castle of Dunbar, yielded to none of the champions whom we have named in devotion to the cause of his country. As his own estates and influence lay in Lothian and near Edinburgh, he was wont, even when the English were in possession of the capital, to reside with a strong band of soldiers among the crags, glens, and caverns of the romantic vicinity of Roslin. From thence he sallied forth to annoy the English, on whom, according to the phrase of the times, he did great vassalage. He often rode into Northumberland, committed destructive forays, and returned safe to his impregnable retreat. His fame for chivalry was so high that no Scottish youth of that neighborhood was held worthy of esteem unless he had proved his gallantry by riding for some time in Ramsay's band.

By the achievements of these brave men the English force was so much weakened throughout Scotland, and the government of the legal monarch so completely restored, that it was thought advisable that King David and his consort should return from France to their own kingdom. They landed at the small port of Inverbervie in Kincardineshire in the month of May, 1341.

In the same spring Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey added to his long list of services the important acquisition of the castle of Roxburgh, which, according to the desperate fashion of the times, he took by escalade.

Unhappily, the mode which the young and inexperienced king took to reward this gallant action proved fatal to the brave knight by whom it was achieved. David conferred on Ramsay the sheriffdom of Roxburgh as a fitting distinction to one who had taken the principal fortress of the county. The Knight of Liddisdale, who had large possessions in Roxburghshire, and pretensions by his services to the sheriffdom, was deeply offended by the preference given to Ramsay. From being Sir Alexander's friend and companion in arms, he became his mortal enemy, and nothing less than his death would appease the rancor of his hatred. He came upon Sir Alexander Ramsay, accompanied with an armed force, while he was exercising justice at Hawick, dispersed his few attendants, wounded him while on the bench of justice, threw him on a horse, and through many a wild bog and mountain path carried him to his solitary and desolate castle of the Hermitage, where he cast him into the dungeon of that lonely and darksome fortress. The noble captive was left with his rankling wounds to struggle with thirst and hunger, supporting for some time a miserable existence by means of grain which fell from a granary above, until death relieved him from suffering.

The most disgraceful part of this hideous story remains to be told. David, whose favor, imprudently evinced, had caused the murder of the noble Ramsay, saw himself obliged, by the weakness of his government and the pressure of the disorderly times, not only to pardon the inhuman assassin, but to grace him with the keeping of the castle of Roxburgh, which the valor of his murdered victim had won from the enemy, and the sheriffdom of the county, which was rendered vacant by his murder. It is scarce possible to give a more deplorable instance of those wretched times, in which the great stood above all law, human and divine, and in-

dulged their furious passions not only with impunity but with an enlarged scope to their ambition. Neither was the act of cruelty attended with any blot upon his fame, since the Knight of Liddisdale, who, before Ramsay's murder, had been distinguished by the splendid title of the Flower of Chivalry, continued to retain it after that atrocious transaction.

A fate similar to that of Ramsay was sustained by a victim less deserving of pity. Bullock, the fighting ecclesiastic, who had deserted the standards of England for those of Scotland, and had taken so great a share in the reduction of Perth, was suddenly, by the royal order, seized on by Sir David Berkeley, thrown into the castle of Lochendorb in Morayshire, and there, like Ramsay, starved to death. A Scottish historian makes this melancholy remark on his fate: "It is an ancient saying that neither the powerful, nor the valiant, nor the wise, long flourish in Scotland since envy obtaineth the mastery of them all."

In the meanwhile the war of the contending nations disturbed the frontiers with mutual incursions, which added much to public misery, though they did little toward the decision of the war; and casting our eyes back on the consequences of continued hostilities of the most desolating nature, we see effects so frightful as if God and man had alike determined upon the total destruction of the country.

Between the desultory ravages of the English and those exercised upon system by the Scottish leaders, all the regular practice of agriculture was interrupted year after year, and the produce in a great measure destroyed. A great famine was the consequence; the land that once bore crops was left uncultivated, waste, and overgrown with briers and thickets, while wolves and wild deer approached, contrary to their nature, the dwellings of man. The starving sufferers were compelled to feed on substances most abhorrent to human appetite; and one wretch, called Christian Cleik, with his wife, subsisted on the flesh of children whom they caught

in traps and devoured. These wretched cannibals were detected, condemned, and burned to death.

Famine, and the wretched shifts by which men strove to avoid its rage, brought on disease, their natural consequence. A pestilence swept the land, and destroyed many of the enfeebled inhabitants, while others emigrated to France and Flanders, forsaking a country on which it seemed to have pleased Heaven to empty the bitterest vials of its wrath. And the termination of these misfortunes was far distant.

CHAPTER XIV

King David's Character—Invasion of England—Battle of Durham—The Border Counties are conquered—The Steward defends the Country beyond the Forth; and Douglas recovers Ettricke Forest and Teviotdale—A Truce with England—David II. recognizes the Supremacy of Edward; but his Subjects refuse to do so—The Knight of Liddisdale seduced from his Allegiance: slain by his Godson, Lord Douglas—Treaty for the King's Ransom is broken off by the Interference of France—Battle of Nesbit Moor—Attempt on Berwick, which is relieved by Edward III.—He invades Scotland—The Burnt Candlemas—The English are compelled to Retreat—King David is released from Captivity—His petulant Temper—His repeated Visits to England, and the Influence acquired over him by Edward—He proposes that the Succession of Scotland should go to Edward's Son Lionel—The Scottish Parliament reject the Proposal—Insurrection of the Steward and other Nobles: it is subdued, and Tranquillity restored—New Scheme of Edward and David, which is laid aside as impracticable—David II. marries Catherine Logie, a beautiful Plebeian—Treaty of Peace interrupted by Difficulties about the King's Ransom, which are finally removed—Divorce between David and his Queen—Death of David II.—His Character—State of Scotland during his Reign

DAVID II. was, as might be expected from the son of Robert Bruce, dauntlessly intrepid. He possessed a goodly person (a strong recommendation to the common people), and skill in martial exercises. But his education at the court of France had given him an uncontrollable love of pleasure; and such a propensity, while it resolves itself into the principle of intense selfishness, forms the very reverse of the public-spirited and disinterested character of a patriot king. He was young also, being only about

eighteen when he landed at Inverbervie, and totally inexperienced. Such was the situation and disposition of the juvenile king of a country at once assailed by foreign war with an enemy of superior force, by civil faction and discord in its most frightful shape, by raging pestilence and wasting famine. It was only the additional curse of a weak and imprudent prince that could have added fresh gall to so much bitterness.

The ablest and most trustworthy counsellor whom David could have consulted was unquestionably the steward, who had held the regency till he resigned it on the king's arrival. But, failing heirs of David's body, of which none as yet existed, the steward was heir of the throne, and princes seldom love or greatly trust their successors when not of their own immediate family.

As Edward was absent in France, the time had seemed favorable for an attack upon the frontiers. Several attempts were made without decisive success on either side, which led to a truce of two years, ending on Martinmas, 1346. This cessation of arms was made between England and France, and Scotland was included. David and his subjects, however, became weary of the truce, which was broken off by a fierce incursion of the Knight of Liddisdale into England. In 1344, David prepared for an invasion upon a much larger scale, and summoned the whole array of Scotland, whether Highland or Lowland, to assemble at Perth. They came in great numbers, and Reginald or Ranald of the Isles, in particular, appeared with a strong body of his followers. Unhappily there was a deadly feud between this island lord and the powerful Earl of Ross. By the machinations of the latter chief, Reginald was murdered by a faithless harper, while in the monastery of Elcho, near Perth. The assassin, with his numerous followers, retired from the king's host for fear of punishment. The men of the isles, disgusted with the loss of their lord, and apprehensive of evil consequences, broke up, and, deserting the royal standard, retired home in disorder, leaving the king's army much diminished in

numbers. David, however, determined to proceed on his expedition.

He entered England from the western frontier. A fortress called the Moat of Liddell was held out stoutly by Walter Selby, the accomplice of the famous Middleton in the spoliation of the two cardinals and bishop-elect of Durham, and various other acts of robbery. At present he seems to have been engaged in the lawful defence of England, his native country; and we are, therefore, startled when we learn that the fortress being stormed, the governor was by King David ordered to be beheaded; for what crime against that prince is not apparent.

Moving eastward to Hexham, David's army marked its progress by the usual course of ferocious devastation, the more censured in that age, because the patrimony of St. Cuthbert experienced no favor or protection. The great northern barons of England, Percy and Neville, Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, assembled their forces in numbers sufficient to show that, though the conqueror of Crecy with his victorious army was absent in France, there were Englishmen enough left at home to protect the frontiers of his kingdom from violation. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, the prelates of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, sent their retainers, and attended the rendezvous in person to add religious enthusiasm to the patriotic zeal of the barons. Ten thousand soldiers, who were to have been sent over to Calais to reinforce Edward III.'s army, were countermanded in this exigency, and added to the northern army.

Upon hearing of this formidable assembly of forces, the Knight of Liddisdale advised the Scottish king to retreat, and avoid a pitched battle. But the other barons, conceiving they saw a rich scene of plunder before them, would not listen to this counsel, which they imputed to the selfishness of Douglas, who, having enriched himself by English spoils, was now desirous, they thought, to abridge the opportunity of others to obtain their share. King David advanced to the

park called Beaurepaire, near Durham (by corruption Bear Park), and took up his quarters there, although the ground was so intersected by enclosures as to render it difficult to draw up the troops in order, and impossible for the divisions duly to support each other.

The Knight of Liddisdale had advanced, on the morning of the 17th October, 1346, with four hundred men-at-arms, to collect forage and provisions, when, at Ferry on the Hill, he unexpectedly found himself in presence of the whole English army, then on their march from Bishop Auckland, where they had assembled, toward Sunderland. His forces being totally inadequate to make a stand, the Scottish commander endeavored, but unsuccessfully, to retreat. He was attacked, charged, routed, and suffered great loss. He and the remains of his division had but time to gallop into the Scottish camp and give the alarm, when the enemy were upon them.

The Scottish army was hastily drawn up in three divisions, as well as the broken and subdivided nature of the ground permitted. The right was commanded by the Earl of Moray; the centre by the king in person; the left by the Knight of Liddisdale, the steward of Scotland, and the Earl of Dunbar. This arrangement was hardly accomplished ere the English archers, to the number of ten thousand, came within sight. An experienced commander, Sir John de Graham, foreseeing the fatal consequences which were to ensue, entreated the king to permit him to charge the archers with a body of cavalry. "Give me," he said, "but one hundred horse; I will be answerable for riding them down, and dispersing them." "But, to speak truth," says the old historian Fordun, "de Graham could not obtain a single horseman." The reason might be, that the loss at Ferry Hill, that same morning, had fallen chiefly on the Scottish men-at-arms, and that they had been thus rendered to a great degree unserviceable; but it is more generally attributed to the caprice and wilfulness of the young king. Graham attempted with his own followers to make the

desired manœuvre; but being far too few to make the necessary impression on the archers, they were beaten off, and himself escaped with difficulty. The unerring shower of arrows then commenced, and flew without intermission against the Scots as thick as hail, and they were at the same time charged by the men-at-arms and billmen. The numerous enclosures cramped and interrupted their system of defence, and at length the right wing, under the Earl of Moray, began to fly. The English cavalry broke down on them, and completed the rout. They were thrown into complete disorder and then flight, which afforded the English an opportunity to attack the division of the king at once upon the left flank, now uncovered, and on the front. Amid repeated charges, and the most dispiriting slaughter by the continuous discharge of the English arrows, David showed that he had the courage though not the talents of his father. He was twice severely wounded with arrows, but continued to encourage to the last the few of his peers and officers who were still fighting around him. At length, in a close melee, a Northumberland knight, named Copland, grappled with David, and made him prisoner, but not before the king had struck out two of Copland's front teeth with his gauntlet.

On the fall of the royal banner, the steward and the Earl of March, who had not as yet sustained much loss, despairing of being able to aid the king or restore the battle, withdrew from the field in tolerable order, and carried their division and such as rallied under their standards back into Scotland. David II., it has been thought, considered this retreat as resembling a desertion, the more suspicious, as the next heir to the crown was at its head. The captive king was conveyed to London, and afterward, in solemn procession, to the Tower, attended by a guard of twenty thousand men, and all the city companies in complete pageantry. There were made prisoners with David Bruce the Earls of Fife, Monteith, and Wigton, as also the Knight of Liddisdale, who apparently had put himself into that predicament by his advancing to support the king, since

he might otherwise have retreated with the steward and the Earl of March, whose command he shared. About fifty barons had the same fate.

There remained slain on the fatal field of Neville's Cross the Earls of Moray and Strathern, David de la Hay, the high constable of Scotland, Robert Keith the great marshal, the chamberlain, and the chancellor, with very many men of rank. Of the lower classes, at least fifteen thousand are computed to have fallen.

The nation of Scotland was but beginning to draw its breath after its unparalleled sufferings during the civil war, when it was, to all appearance, totally prostrated by the blow to which David had imprudently exposed his realm. The whole border counties of Scotland surrendered themselves without attempting an unavailing defence. The line of the frontiers was carried northward to the southern borders of Lothian, and extended between Colbrand's Path and the Soltra Hills, and was afterward pushed still further north, for it finally ran between Carlops and Crosscryne.

The king of England abused his victory by cruelty. He brought two of his noble captives, the Earl of Monteith, and Duncan, earl of Fife, to trial, for having turned to Bruce's party, after having been liegemen to Baliol, and, like a similar example of modern times, he transmitted to the judges with the commission for trying the prisoners a scroll of the doom previously fixed by himself and his privy-council. The decision of a court so well instructed in its duty was no matter of question. Both earls were convicted of high treason, and the Earl of Monteith suffered the hideous punishment annexed to that crime by the English law.

Yet while thus severely punishing those who had been traitors, as it was called, to Baliol, Edward had no purpose of restoring to his ally any delegated power in Scotland. The ex-king had, since his repeated expulsion from his kingdom, lived upon appointments afforded him from England, and acted more as a lieutenant of the English marches than a prince having a right to the Scottish throne, nor did the

victory of Neville's Cross extend his authority. On the contrary, the English barons Lucy, Dacre, and Umfraville received a commission to accept the allegiance which it was supposed the humbled inhabitants of Scotland would be willing universally to transfer to King Edward in person.

Upon this, however, as well as other occasions of imminent peril, the Scottish people, on the very brink of ruin as an independent nation, found a remedy in their own dauntless courage. The nobility who had escaped from the field of Neville's Cross restored the steward of Scotland, heir of the crown, to the regency of the kingdom, in place of the imprisoned king. Yielding up the southern provinces, which he could not defend, the steward placed the country north of the Forth in as strong a posture as he could, and amid terror and disturbance maintained a show of government and good order. At this critical period William, Lord Douglas, returned from France, where he had been bred to arms, and, with the active valor of his uncle, the good Lord James, expelled the English invaders from his own domains of Douglas Dale, and in process of time from Ettricke Forest and Teviotdale, provinces of which the warlike population had been long followers of this chivalrous family.

The consequences of these successes would probably have been a furious invasion of Scotland, had it depended entirely upon the will of Edward III. But the consent of the English barons was necessary, and they were little disposed to aid in a renewal of those expensive and destructive hostilities which had been so often and so fruitlessly waged against Scotland. The king of England, therefore, reluctantly consented to a truce with the steward, which he renewed from time to time, as he began to conceive designs of at once filling his coffers with a large ransom for his royal prisoner, David, and to secure a right of succession to the Scottish throne by other means than open war.

With this view, the royal captive was treated with more kindness than at first, and (to sharpen, perhaps, his appetite for restoration to freedom and to his kingdom) he was

allowed to visit Scotland, on making oath and finding hostages to return in a time limited. Impatient as his predecessor William the Lion, David seems to have been ready to submit his kingdom to the sovereignty of Edward, and yield up once more the question of supremacy, in order to obtain his personal freedom. He appears even to have taken some steps for that purpose. Two instruments remain, by which David recognizes the title of Edward as lord paramount, and agrees to take the oath of homage. The purpose of his temporary liberation being partly to give him an opportunity of sounding the opinion and sentiments of his people on this important point, the English commissioners were empowered to protract his term of absence, if they should think the execution of a treaty on such a foundation could be advanced by it. But when the pulse of the Scottish nobles was sounded on this subject, they made a unanimous declaration, that though they would joyfully impoverish themselves to purchase with money the freedom of their sovereign, they would never agree to surrender, for that or any other object, the independence of their country. David was therefore obliged to return to his captivity.

Mr. Tytler conjectures that it was as a subsidiary part of this agreement between the two kings that Edward III. entered into a sort of treaty with the Knight of Liddisdale, also a prisoner in England since the battle of Neville's Cross, by which the latter, assuming a treasonable independence, and renouncing, under a thin and affected disguise, the allegiance and duty which he owed to his own king and country, became bound to admit Englishmen to pass through his territories at all times, and for all purposes; engaged to keep on foot a body of men for the service of Edward; and, in short, transferred to the English king those military services which he owed to his native country. The consideration for this treacherous desertion was his liberation from prison, a grant by King Edward of the lands and lordship of Liddisdale and the castle of Hermitage, with some possessions in the mountains of Annandale. We can hardly think

that the whole of this treaty was known to David, although it is probable he was aware that the Knight of Liddisdale was disposed to favor an alliance with England. But, whether with or without the knowledge of his sovereign, too certain it is, to borrow the pathetic language of Lord Hailes, that, "thus in an evil hour did Sir William Douglas at once cancel the merit of former achievements, and, for the possession of a precarious inheritance, transmit his name to posterity in the roll of time-servers and traitors."

The Knight of Liddisdale's schemes, indeed, were baffled almost as soon as formed. He had not long been in possession of the freedom thus basely obtained, before he was waylaid and slain, while hunting in Ettricke Forest,[1] by his own kinsman and godson, William, lord of Douglas. The contemporary historians are at a loss whether to ascribe this act of violence on the part of Lord Douglas to domestic jealousy or to revenge for the murder of Ramsay and that of Sir David Berkeley, assassinated by the command of the Knight of Liddisdale while he was yet captive in London, July 13, 1354. But, in our time, the knowledge having emerged of Liddisdale's traitorous engagement with Edward, we can easily conceive that Lord Douglas may have taken his kinsman's life as that of a traitor to the kingdom, and a dangerous rival in his own family rights.

Shortly after this incident, a treaty for the ransom of David was agreed upon by commissioners at Newcastle, for ninety thousand marks sterling, which sum was to be paid up by instalments of ten thousand marks yearly. All the nobility of the kingdom, and all the merchants, were to become bound for the regular payment of these large sums. The greater part of the Scottish nobles thought this an ex-

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[1] The spot is called, in old histories, Galsewood or Galseford. Tradition fixes it at William's Cross, between Tweed and Yarrow, where a cross is said to have long existed in memory of the incident. Lindean Church, where the obsequies of the slaughtered Knight of Liddisdale were first performed, is exactly half-way between William's Cross and Melrose, where the body was finally interred.

orbitant demand for the liberty of a prince of moderate talents, without heirs of his body, and attached to idle pleasures. While the estates were doubting whether or not the treaty should be ratified, the arrival of a brave French knight, De Garencieres, with a small but selected body of knights and esquires, and the large sum of forty thousand *moutons* of gold, to be distributed among the Scots nobles on condition of their breaking the truce and invading England, decided their resolution. They readily adopted, at whatever future risk, the course which was attended with receiving money, instead of that which involved their own paying it. Indeed, the Northumbrian borderers themselves made the first aggression, by invading and spoiling the lands of the Earl of March. The Douglas and the Earl of March determined on reprisals.

The Scottish nobles conducted their inroad as men well acquainted with the stratagems of border warfare. A strong advance party of five hundred men was sent into Northumberland under command of Sir William Ramsay (son of the murdered Sir Alexander), while the two earls with the main body remained in ambush at a place called Nesbit, within the Scottish frontier. Ramsay speedily swept together a great spoil, and proceeded, according to his instructions, to drive them into Scotland, under the full view of the garrison of Norham. Fired at this insult, Sir Thomas Gray, governor of the castle, rushed out at the head of a select body of men-at-arms, and pursuing Ramsay, who retreated before him, fell into the ambuscade which had been laid for him, and, after a most chivalrous defence, was defeated and made prisoner.

Another, though momentary gleam of success, shone on the Scottish arms. The Earls of Angus and March, assisted by the French auxiliaries, made themselves masters of the important town of Berwick, but failed to obtain possession of the castle. At this important crisis, the French, who had done various feats of arms under Eugene de Garencieres, took their leave and returned home, disgusted with the ser-

vice in Scotland. Their national valor induced them to face with readiness the dangers of the warfare; but their manners and habits made them impatient of the rough fare and fierce manners of their allies.

Edward III. no sooner heard of the defeat at Nesbit, and the surprise of Berwick, than he passed over from Calais, and appeared before the town with a great part of that veteran army which had been so often victorious in France, and large reinforcements, who emulated their valor. His whole army amounted to eighty thousand men. The Scots who had gained the town had had no time to store themselves with provisions, or make other preparations for defence. They were not, besides, in possession of the castle, from which they were liable to be attacked, while the king of England should storm the walls. They capitulated, therefore, for permission to evacuate the town, of which Edward obtained possession by the terror of his appearance alone.

Berwick regained, it was now the object of Edward III. to march into Scotland, and to put a final end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars so repeatedly offered to his operations in France. He determined, being now in possession of all means supposed adequate to the purpose, to make a final conquest of the kingdom, and forcibly unite it, as his grandfather had joined Wales, to the larger and richer portion of the island.

But as, like that grandfather, Edward III. had not leisure to conquer kingdoms for other men, it was necessary for him to clear the way of the claims of Baliol, whom he had hitherto professed to regard as the legitimate king of Scotland. This was easily arranged; for Edward Baliol was, in the hands of Edward III., a far more flexible tool than his father had proved in those of Edward I. Being a mere phantom, whom Edward could summon upon the scene and dismiss at pleasure, he was probably very easily molded to the purpose of the king of England, and of free consent and goodwill underwent the ceremony of degradation, to which his father, after failing in all attempts at resistance, had been

compelled to submit, and which procured him the dishonorable nickname of Toom-tabard, or Empty Jacket. Edward Baliol appeared before Edward attired in all the symbols of royalty, of which he formally divested himself, and laying his golden crown at the feet of the English king, ceded to him all right, title, and interest, which he had or might claim in the sovereignty of Scotland. The causes inducing him to this transference and surrender the cedent alleged to be, first, the advance of old age, and the want of heirs to succeed him; secondly, his high obligations to the English king, his especial affection for him, and the nearness of blood which existed between them; together with the ingratitude and rebellion of his Scottish relations and subjects, and in general his desire to promote the advantage of both nations. Such were the pretexts; but in reality Baliol possessed no interest whatever in Scotland; he was a mere stipendiary and pensioner of England, and Edward was now desirous to be rid of him, and either to acquire the crown of Scotland to himself directly by virtue of Baliol's cession in his favor, or, if that project should fail, to achieve the same object by making some composition with the imprisoned David, whom he found not indisposed to agree to a settlement of the crown on a son of the king of England, in exchange for his own liberty. In guerdon of his pliancy, Baliol, when retiring into private life, was to be endowed by Edward III. with a sum of five thousand marks, and a stipend or annuity of two thousand pounds sterling a year. With this splendid income Edward Baliol retired into privacy and obscurity, and is never again mentioned in history. The spirit of enterprise which dictated the invasion of Scotland in 1332, and the adventurous attack upon the Scottish encampment at Dupplin Moor, shows itself in no other part of his conduct, which may lead us to think that an attempt so daring was no suggestion of his own mind, but breathed into it by the counsels of some master-spirit among his councillors. In battle he showed the bravery of a soldier; but in other respects he never seems to have displayed talents whether for

war or peace. He died childless in the year 1363; and thus ended in his person the line of Baliol, whose pretensions had cost Scotland so dear.

The campaign which Edward designed should be decisive of the fate of Scotland now approached. The Scottish nobles, more wise in calamity than success, taught and convinced by experience of the danger of encountering the enemy in pitched battle and in the open field, resolved to practice the lessons of defensive war which had been bequeathed to them by their deliverer, King Robert. Time was, however, required to lay the country waste, to withdraw the inhabitants, and to take the other precautions necessary for this stern and desolating species of resistance. For this purpose Earl Douglas was sent to King Edward, to protract time as long as he could with offers of negotiation. He succeeded in obtaining a truce of ten days, during the greater part of which he remained in the English camp, and then left it, exulting in having obtained the necessary space for defensive preparations, of which his countrymen had made excellent use.

Scotland was now somewhat in the same condition as when invaded in 1322, but thus far worse situated, that, as Edward III. was a heroic character a hundred times more formidable than his father, so the chiefs whom Scotland had now to oppose against the victor, at whose name France trembled, were as far inferior in talents to the Bruce. They were imbued, however, with his sentiments, and were determined to act upon them; and thus being dead, King Robert might be said still to direct the Scottish army.

Edward no sooner entered Scotland than he found his troops in want of every species of supply save what they bore along with them. The villages and farmyards were silent, and vacant alike of men, grain, and cattle. Within the circuit of an ordinary foraging party, no species of supply was to be found. If any ventured beyond the reach of speedy and instant support, they were overwhelmed by the Scots,

who, lying in ambush in glens, morasses, and forests, pounced on them from all sides, and gave no quarter. Incensed at the difficulties and privations by which he was surrounded, and conscious that he had been overreached by Douglas in the previous negotiation, Edward vented his wrath in reckless and indiscriminate destruction, burning every town and village which he approached, without sparing the edifices which were dedicated to Heaven and holy uses. The fine abbey church at Haddington, called the Lamp of Lothian, from the beauty of its architecture, was burned down, and the monastery, as well as the town itself, utterly destroyed. These ravages caused the period (February, 1356) to be long remembered by the title of the Burnt Candlemas.

The vehemence of Edward's passion, and the furious manner in which he vented it, might soothe him with feelings of gratified vengeance, but could neither find provisions for his men nor forage for his army, and man and horse began to sink under privation approaching to famine. Edward had expected to meet his victualling ships, which had been despatched to Berwick; but no sail appeared on the shipless seas. After waiting ten days among the ruins of Haddington, his difficulties increasing with every minute, Edward at length learned that a storm had dispersed his fleet, not one of which had been able to enter the Firth of Forth. Retreat was now inevitable: the sufferings of the English soldiers rendered it disorderly, and it was attended with proportional loss. The Scots, from mountains, dingles, forests, and pathless wildernesses, approached the English army on every side, watching it as the carrion crows and ravens wait on a tainted flock, to destroy such as fall down through weakness. To avoid returning through the wasted province of Berwickshire, Edward involved himself in the defiles of the upper part of Teviotdale and Ettricke Forest, where he suffered much loss from the harassing attacks of Douglas, and on one occasion very narrowly escaped being made prisoner.

The failure of this great enterprise, the fifth in which the attempt of invasion had been foiled, seems to have induced

Edward to resort to other means than those of open and avowed hostility for the establishment of his power in Scotland, an object which he conceived to be still within his reach. The temper of his royal prisoner, David Bruce, was now, by his long confinement in England, become well known to him, and he doubted not that by some agreement with the selfish prince he might secure that interest in Scotland and its government of which the people were so jealous. A preliminary step to such an intrigue was the delivery of David from his long captivity, and the establishment of peace between the nations.

By the final agreement between the commissioners for each kingdom, October 3, 1357, David's ransom, augmented since the last treaty, was fixed at one hundred thousand marks, to be discharged by partial payments of ten thousand marks yearly. The nobles, churchmen, and burgesses of Scotland bound themselves to see the instalments regularly paid; and three nobles of the highest rank, who might, however, be exchanged for others of the same degree from time to time, together with twenty young men of quality, the son of the steward being included, were surrendered to England as hostages. Thus was David restored to freedom, eleven years after having been made prisoner at the battle of Neville's Cross. The terms, on the whole, were rather more severe than those proposed three years before, when the treaty was broken off by the interest of France.

The first thing, after his return, which marked the tendency of David's political feelings and attachments was his predilection for visits to England, and long residences there, which became so frequent as to excite a feeling among his subjects that they did but waste their substance in needlessly ransoming a sovereign who preferred the land of his captivity to his own dominions. A trifling incident, also, occurred soon after his liberation, which manifested an arrogant, vain, and unfeeling temper. As the people, eager to see their long-absent king, pressed into his presence with more affection than reverence, David snatched a mace from

an attendant, and laying about him with his own royal hand, taught his liege subjects in future to put their loyal feelings under more ceremonial restraint.

A species of intimacy, in which Edward trusted to find his advantage, was now encouraged between his dominions and Scotland. Licenses were given to traders, to pilgrims, natives of both countries, to youth of quality desirous of receiving education at the English universities, to all, in short, who could allege a reasonable cause for visiting the English dominions. The Scottish nobles were welcomed when they visited the English court. This liberal line of conduct was no doubt designed to dazzle the eyes of the Scots with the superior wealth and splendor of their powerful neighbors; and to engage them in such friendly transactions and relations as might smooth down the prejudices which had been the natural growth of so many years' war. All these were fair and laudable objects; but the king of England sought them with a sinister and selfish purpose.

The weakness of David, who had shown himself willing, would his subjects have permitted him, to sacrifice to Edward the independence of Scotland, by acknowledging him as lord paramount, had encouraged the king of England to propose that, in place of the steward of Scotland, the grandson of Robert Bruce by his daughter Marjory, Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. himself, should be called to succeed to the crown of Scotland. This project seems to have been kept closely concealed from the Scottish nation at large until the month of March, 1363, when David Bruce ventured to bring it himself before the estates of the Scottish parliament, convoked to meet at Scone. The king of Scotland had lately become a widower, by the death of Queen Joanna, during one of her visits to England. This makes it seem more extraordinary that he should desire the substitution of an English prince in the succession of the crown, since David might justly have apprehended that if, in the case of probable events, he himself might marry again and have children, the king of England would not have

brooked to see the hope of his son's succession blighted, even by the birth of heirs of his own body. Undeterred by this motive, powerful as it might be thought, David Bruce proposed to the estates of Scotland, "that, in the event of his dying without heirs, they should settle the crown on one of the sons of the king of England. He particularly recommended the Duke Lionel of Clarence as a worthy object of their choice, hinted that this would insure a constant peace between the two nations of Britain, and become the means to induce the king of England to resign, formally and forever, all pretensions to the feudal supremacy which had been the cause of such fatal struggles."

The estates of Scotland listened with sorrow and indignation to such a proposition, coming as it did from the lips of their sovereign, the son of the heroic Robert Bruce. Instantly and unanimously they replied, "that they would never permit an Englishman to rule over them; that, by solemn acts of settlement sworn to in parliament, the steward of Scotland was called to the crown in default of the present king or issue of his body; that he was a brave man, and worthy of the succession: from which, therefore, they refused to exclude him, by preferring the son of an alien enemy."

King David received, doubtless, this blunt refusal, which necessarily inferred a severe personal reproach, with shame and mortification, but made no reply; and the parliament, passing to other matters, appointed commissioners to labor at the great work of converting the present precarious truce between England and Scotland into a steady and permanent peace.

But the proposal of altering the destination of the crown, although apparently passed from or withdrawn, remained tenaciously rooted in the minds of those whose interests had been assailed by it. The steward and his sons, with many of his kindred, the Earls of March, Douglas, and other southern barons, assumed arms, and entered into bonds or leagues to prevent, they said, the alteration of the order of

succession as fixed in the days of Bruce. The king armed in his turn, not, as he alleged, to enforce an alteration of the succession, but to restore good order, and compel the associated lords to lay down their arms, in which he was successful. The steward and his associates submitted themselves, awed by the unexpected spirit displayed by the king, and the numerous party which continued to adhere to him. Stewart himself, together with Douglas, March, and others associated in the league, were contented to renounce the obligation in open parliament, convened at Inchmurdoch, May 14, 1363. The steward, upon the same occasion, swore on the Gospels true liegedom and fealty to David, under the penalty of forfeiting not only his own life and lands, but his and his family's title of succession to the throne. In recompense of this prompt return to the duty of a subject, as well as to soothe the apprehensions for national independence which the proposal of the king had excited, the right of succession to the throne, as solemnly established in the steward and his sons, was fully recognized, and the Earldom of Carrick, once a title of Robert Bruce, was conferred on his eldest son, afterward Robert III.

The imprudent David had hardly ratified the proceedings of the parliament of Scone, ere, forgetful of the danger he had lately incurred, he repaired to London, and renewed with Edward III. those intrigues which had for their object the alteration of the succession. A new plan was now drawn up for this purpose, at a conference held between the two kings and certain selected counsellors, November 23, 1368. By this the king of England, Edward III., was himself to be declared heir of King David, in case the former should die without issue male. Twenty-seven conditions followed, the object of most of which seems to have been to reconcile the Scottish people to the sway of an English monarch, by imparting to them a share in the advantages of English trade, by ratifying to North Britain its laws and independence as a separate kingdom, and, above all, by discharging the ransom, which continued a heavy burden upon

Scotland, of which only a tenth part had been yet paid. The national pride was to be flattered by the restoration of the fatal stone of inauguration, on which it was proposed that the king of England himself should be crowned at Scone, after the Scottish manner. All claim of supremacy was to be renounced, and the independence of Scotland, in Church and State, was carefully provided for, together with an obligation on Edward, when he should succeed to the throne, binding him to use Scottish counsellors in all the national concerns of the kingdom, and to employ native Scottishmen in all offices of trust. But the same schedule of articles contains a clause for giving the English king the command of the Scottish national and feudal levies; a condition which alone must have had the consequence of placing the country at Edward's unlimited disposal. The minutes of this conference open with a provision of strict secrecy, and a declaration that what follows is not to be considered as anything finally resolved upon or determined, but merely as the heads of a plan to be hereafter examined more maturely, and adopted, altered, or altogether thrown aside at pleasure. By the last article the king of Scotland undertook to sound the inclinations of his people respecting this scheme, and report the result to the English king within fifteen days after Easter. It is probable that David, on his return to Scotland, found the scheme totally impracticable.

A circumstance of personal imprudence now added to the difficulties by which King David was surrounded. In 1364, with a violence unbecoming his high rank and mature age, he fell in love with a beautiful young woman, called Catherine Logie, daughter of Sir John Logie, executed for accession to that plot against Robert Bruce which was prosecuted and punished in the times of the Black Parliament. The young lady was eminently beautiful; and the king, finding he could not satisfy his passion otherwise, gave her his hand in marriage. This unequal alliance scandalized his haughty nobles, and seems to have caused an open rupture between David and his kinsman the steward, whose views to the

crown were placed in danger of being disappointed, if the fair lady should bear a son to her royal husband. It was probably on account of some quarrel arising out of this subject of discord that King David seems to have thrown the steward, with his son, the Lord of Badenoch, into prison, where both were long detained.

The accomplishment of a general and enduring peace between the two kingdoms was now the occupation of commissioners. The payment of the ransom of David was the principal obstacle. The first instalments had been discharged with tolerable regularity. For this effect the Scottish parliament had made great sacrifices. The whole wool of the kingdom, apparently its most productive subject of export, was directed to be delivered up to the king at a low rate, and the surplus produced over prime cost in disposing of the commodity to the foreign merchants in Flanders was to be applied in discharge of the ransom. A property tax upon men of every degree was also imposed and levied. From these funds the sum of twenty thousand marks had been raised and paid to England. But since these payments the destined sources had fallen short. The Scots had applied to the pope, who having already granted to the king a tenth of the ecclesiastical benefices for the term of three years, refused to authorize any further tax upon the clergy. They solicited France, who, as her own king was unransomed and in captivity in England, had a fair apology for declining further assistance, unless under condition that the Scots would resume the war with England, in which case they promised a contribution of fifty thousand marks toward the ransom of King David.

Scotland being thus straitened and without resources, the stipulated instalments of the ransom necessarily fell into arrear, and heavy penalties were, according to the terms of the treaty, incurred for default of payment. Edward acted the part of a lenient creditor. He was less intent on payment of the ransom than to place the Scottish nation in so insolvent a condition that the estates might be glad, in one

way or other, to compromise that debt by a sacrifice of their independence. He could not, indeed, use the readiest mode of compelling payment by summoning the Scottish monarch to return to captivity, without depriving himself of a tractable and willing agent for forwarding his views in Scotland, and probably, at the same time, throwing that country into the control of the steward, the decided enemy of English influence. The penalties and arrears were now computed to amount to one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by instalments of six thousand marks yearly. The truce was prolonged for about three years. These payments, though most severe on the nation of Scotland, seem to have been made good with regularity by means of the taxes which the Scottish parliament had imposed for defraying them: so that in 1369 the truce between the nations was continued for fourteen years, and the English conceded that the balance of the ransom, amounting still to fifty-six thousand marks, should be cleared by annual payments of four thousand marks. In this manner the ransom of David was completely discharged, and a receipt in full was granted by Richard II. in the seventh year of his reign. These heavy but necessary exactions were not made without internal struggles.

The northern barons and Celtic chiefs were, for a short time, in open insurrection against payment of the imposts; but were put down by the steadiness of the parliament, and one of those starts of activity into which the indolent but resolute spirit of David Bruce was sometimes awakened. He marched into the northwest against John of the Isles, and reducing that turbulent and powerful chief to subjection, compelled him to submit to the tax imposed by parliament, and exacted hostages from him for remaining in allegiance.

Family discord broke out in the royal family. Catherine Logie, the young and beautiful queen, was expensive, like persons who are suddenly removed from narrow to opulent circumstances. She was fond of changing place, of splendor

in retinue, dress, and entertainment; perhaps, being young and beautiful, she also liked personal admiration. David's passion was satiated, and he was desirous to dissolve the unequal marriage which he had so imprudently formed. The bishops of Scotland pronounced a sentence of divorce, but upon what grounds we are left ignorant by historians. Catherine Logie appealed to the pope from the sentence of the Scottish Church, and went to Avignon to prosecute the cause by means of such wealth as she had amassed during her continuance in power, which is said to have been considerable. Her appeal was heard with favor by the pope; but she did not live to bring it to an issue, as she died abroad, in 1369.

After the divorce of this lady by the Scottish prelates, the steward and his son were released from prison, and restored to the king's favor, which plainly showed by what influence they had incurred disgrace and captivity.

Little more remains to be said of David II. He became affected with a mortal illness, and died in the castle of Edinburg, at the early age of forty-seven, and in the forty-fifth year of his reign, February 22, 1370. He had courage, affability, and the external graces which become a prince. But his life was a uniform contrast to the patriotic devotion of his father. He exacted and received the most painful sacrifices at the hands of his subjects, and never curbed himself in a single caprice, or denied himself a single indulgence, in requital of their loyalty and affection. In the latter years of his life, he acted as the dishonorable tool of England, and was sufficiently willing to have exchanged, for paltry and personal advantages, the independence of Scotland, bought by his heroic father at the expense of so many sufferings, which terminated in ruined health and premature death.

The reign of David II. was as melancholy a contrast to that of his father as that of Robert I. had been brilliant when contrasted with his predecessors. Yet we recognize in it a nearer approach to civil polity, and a more absolute

commixture of the different tribes by which Scotland was peopled into one general nation, obedient to a single government.

Even the chiefs of the Isles and Highlands were so much subdued as to own the allegiance of the Scottish king, to hold seats in his parliaments, and resign, though reluctantly, much of that rude and tumultuous independence which they had formerly made their boast. The power of these formidable chiefs was much reduced, not only by the actual restraint exercised over them by the sovereign and his lieutenants, often at the head of an armed force, but by the less justifiable policy which the sovereign is said to have exercised, of stirring up one chieftain against another, and thus humbling and diminishing the power of the whole. Still the separation of the Highlands from the Lowlands was that between two separate races; and though the king's sovereignty was acknowledged in both, the ordinary course of law was only current in the more civilized country, and we shall presently see that the lords of the Isles gave repeated disturbances to the Scottish government. The nation, at the same time, became more like that with which we ourselves are acquainted. A few great families can indeed trace their descent from the period of Robert Bruce; but a far greater number are first distinguished in the reign of his son, where the lists of the battle of Durham contain the names of the principal nobility and gentry in modern Scotland, and are the frequent resource of the genealogists. The spirit of commerce advanced in the time of David I. against all the disadvantages of foreign and domestic warfare.

In the parliaments of 1368 and 1369 a practice was introduced, for the first time apparently, of empowering committees of parliament to prepare and arrange, in previous and secret meetings, the affairs of delicacy and importance which were afterward to come before the body at large. As this led to investing a small cabal of the representatives with the exclusive power of garbling and selecting the subjects

for parliamentary debate, it necessarily tended to limit the free discussion so essential to the constitution of that body, and finally assumed the form of that very obnoxious institution called Lords of the Articles, who, claiming the preliminary right of examining and rejecting at their pleasure such measures as were to be brought before parliament, became a severe restraint on national freedom.

Amid the pestilence and famine, which made repeated ravages in Scotland during this unhappy reign, the Scottish national spirit never showed itself more energetically determined on resisting the English domination to the last. Particular chiefs and nobles were no doubt seduced from their allegiance, but there was no general or undisturbed pause of submission and apathy. The nation was strong in its very weakness; for as the Scots became unequal to the task of assembling national armies, they were saved from the consequences of such general actions as Dunbar, Halidon, and Berwick, and obliged to limit themselves to the defensive species of war best suited to the character of the country, and that which its inhabitants were so well qualified to wage.

The want of talents in the sovereign, and the effects of his long imprisonment, were most severely felt in the independence which was affected by the Knight of Liddisdale, and other great leaders and nobles, who committed in their feudal strife such horrible crimes as the murder of Ramsay of Dalwolsey, Bullock, Berkeley, St. Michael, and others. The parliament were sensible of these grievous evils; but, despairing of their own power to repress them, it was rather in a tone of entreaty than command that they implored the great nobles to lay aside their private quarrels, and unite cordially in the defence of their common country. Many of the authors of such evils, who had enrolled themselves as members of the estates, joined in these patriotic remonstrances, and, when the parliament broke up, rode home each to his feudal tower and waste domains, to harass his neighbors with private war as before. The Scottish parlia-

ment seems never to have failed in perceiving the evils which afflicted the state, or in making sound and sagacious regulations to repress them; but unhappily the executive power seldom or never possessed the authority necessary to enforce the laws; and thus the nation continued in the condition of a froward patient, who cannot be cured because there is no prevailing upon him to take the prescriptions ordered by the physicians.

CHAPTER XV

Accession of the House of Stewart: their Origin—Robert II. and his Family—Claim of the Earl of Douglas: it is abandoned—Defeat of the English near Melrose—Wasteful Incursions on the Border—John of Gaunt negotiates with Scotland: takes Refuge there against the English Rioters—France instigates the Scots to renew the War—Inroad by John of Gaunt—John de Vienne arrives with an Army of French Auxiliaries—They are dissatisfied with Scotland, and the Scots with them—They urge the Scots to fight a pitched Battle with the English—The Scots decline doing so, and explain their Motives—Invasion of Richard: it is paid back by the Scots—The French Auxiliaries leave Scotland—The Scots menace England with Invasion—The Battle of Otterbourne—Robert, Earl of Fife, Regent—Truce with England—Robert II. dies

THE genealogy of the Stewart family, who now acceded to the throne of Scotland, has been the theme of many a fable. But their pedigree has by late antiquaries been distinctly traced to the great Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan in England; no unworthy descent, even for a race of monarchs. In David I.'s time, Walter Fitz-Alan held the high post of seneschal or steward of the king's household; and the dignity becoming hereditary in the family, what was originally a title was converted into a surname, and employed as such. Walter, the sixth high-steward, fought bravely at Bannockburn, defended Berwick with the most chivalrous courage, and was unanimously thought worthy of the hand of Marjory Bruce, the daughter of the liberator of Scotland; and to their only child, the seventh lord high-steward, often mentioned during the last reign, the crown descended, on the extinction of the Bruce's male line in his only son David II.

The successor to the crown had been twice married. By Elizabeth Mure of Rowallan, his first wife, he had his son John, created earl of Carrick; Walter, earl of Fife; Robert, earl of Monteith, afterward duke of Albany; and Alexander, earl of Buchan. No less than six daughters, united in marriage with the most powerful families in Scotland, assured their support to the succession of the House of Stewart. The new king was, by a second marriage with Euphemia, daughter of the Earl of Ross, the father of David, earl of Strathern, and Walter, earl of Athol. Of four daughters by this second marriage, the eldest was married to James, earl of Douglas, and the other three also wedded into ancient and powerful families.

The father of this numerous race was an elderly man, fifty-five years old, with an infirmity in his eyes, which rendered them as red as blood. He had been in his youth a bold and active soldier; but he was now past the years of martial exertion, and obliged to delegate to others the command of his army. He had the virtues of a pacific sovereign, being just, benign, clement, and sagacious.

The Earl of Douglas threatened the tranquillity of the realm by a claim on the throne, which, however, was no sooner made than abandoned, upon his receiving the hand of the Princess Euphemia in marriage. Robert II. was, therefore, inaugurated at Scone, March 27, 1371, with the usual ceremony. As the Scots continued to pay the ransom of King David with tolerable regularity, no open war with England was entered into until 1378; when, after mutual injuries and inroads, it broke out with great fury, and skirmishes and battles of a destructive rather than a decisive character took place. A small body of Scots made themselves masters of the citadel of Berwick; but, not being supported by a sufficient force, were surprised and put to the sword. In a fierce encounter near Melrose, the English, under the command of Musgrave, governor of Berwick, were defeated by the Earl of Douglas. The battle was decided by the personal exertions of Archibald Douglas, who, wielding

with ease a sword which an ordinary man could hardly lift, broke the English ranks with the fury of his blows. The Scots appear to have had the better in this species of predatory hostility, their borderers being very numerous, and the best qualified in Europe for irregular war. Their rapine was now greater and greedier than usual; for even swine, which they used formerly to spare or neglect, did not now escape them: and there were instances of their driving off forty thousand head of booty in a successful inroad. They are said to have amused themselves by playing at football with the heads of the slain. This is, perhaps, an exaggeration; but it is certain that their ferocity equalled their rapacity. They were led also by a Douglas, whose activity was indefatigable. He surprised the town of Penrith, in 1380, during a fair that was held there. The Scots made a great booty, and gave the town to the flames. The English were also defeated in Annandale, where the borderers of Cumberland entered, for the purpose of retaliating these injuries.

The miseries of this cruel species of hostility were enhanced by a contagious disease which raged on the English frontiers, and which was imported into Scotland by the reckless borderers, whom even the pestilence itself could not deter from spoil.

In the ensuing year John of Gaunt, the celebrated duke of Lancaster, marched to the border with a formidable force, and put a temporary close to these miseries by a truce for twelve months, which, when nearly expired, was renewed for the same period. A singular occurrence took place while this last treaty was negotiating. The insurrection of Wat Tyler broke out; and the Duke of Lancaster, against whom, as a patron of the followers of Wickliffe, much of the popular fury was directed, found it dangerous to return into England. Although the kingdoms could hardly be said to be at peace together, he did not hesitate to choose Scotland for his temporary place of refuge. Nor was this generous confidence ill requited. Edinburgh Castle was assigned to their

princely guest and his retinue, that their security might be safely provided for, and they were allowed the exclusive possession of this important fortress. And when the civil commotion was ended, the duke returned to England in security.

France beheld with anxiety this cessation, brief as it was, of hostility between England and Scotland. Toward the latter she always acted as a civilized colony toward some tribe of barbarians in their neighborhood, whose passions they animate by promises or bribes, in order to have their assistance in war with a powerful neighbor. On the present occasion, as a diversion on the English frontiers was of the utmost consequence to their success at home, the French government instigated the Scots, by the distribution of a large sum of money, and the promise of assisting them with an auxiliary force of a thousand men-at-arms and their attendants, and a thousand suits of armor, to suffer the truce to elapse without renewal. The Scots listened to the temptation, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the old king, who was pacifically disposed, they resumed hostilities at the end of the truce.

The Duke of Lancaster again visited the frontiers; but it was for the purpose of punishment, not treaty. He marched as far as Edinburgh, plundering the country; but generously spared the city, which had been so lately his place of refuge, and retreated, after he had shown both his power and his clemency. Robert II. again advised peace; but he could not prevail on the warlike nobles of Scotland to accept of its blessings.

In 1385, France, according to her engagement, sent to Scotland a large sum of money, twelve hundred suits of armor complete, with all appurtenances, and a thousand men-at-arms, with their followers, which may be estimated at five thousand men in all, forming, according to Froissart's phrase, a complete garland of chivalry, and commanded by John de Vienne, admiral of France, one of the most distinguished warriors of the day.

The first articles of this importation were gladly received in Scotland, where ready palms were found to receive the gold, and limbs as prompt to bear the armor. But the auxiliaries themselves had but a cold reception. Of this the French were themselves in part the cause. Accustomed to good fare and comfortable lodging, they were surprised at the wretched food and miserable accommodations with which habit and necessity had made the Scots familiar. At first they treated their hardships as a jest; but the continuation of such a rude mode of living wore out their good-humor; and their allies complained that when they had furnished these foreigners with the best which their means afforded, they were only requited with grumbling and murmurs. The petulance of the French national gallantry also gave great offence; for even their general was so inconsiderate as to make love to a near relation of the king, to the scandal and indignation of the Scots, who had no toleration for such unbecoming license.

Neither were the French chivalry of that use to the Scottish cause which had been expected. The Scots, indeed, assembled an army, and marched into England, where they made considerable havoc; but as the spoil was collected by what was called pricking or skirmishing, with which the borderers were better acquainted than the knights of France, it is probable that the former secured the greater part of the booty. John de Vienne and his companions might have done better service in sieges, and were employed for that purpose before Roxburgh, which had remained in the possession of the English since the battle of Durham. The scheme was, however, given up in consequence of an extravagant pretension set up by the strangers to garrison and hold the fortress when it should be taken.

While the French and their allies were thus disputing, they received news that the king of England, Richard II., was advancing with a large army for the purpose of invading Scotland. The French rejoiced, in expectation of a general action, in the event of which they anticipated a large

share of glory and spoil. But the Scottish leaders informed them it was not their purpose to engage the English force in a pitched battle, alleging in excuse their inferiority in numbers, but especially in the size of their horses and quality of their archers. "All that may be true," answered their allies; "but if you do not give the English battle, they will destroy your country." "Let them do their worst," said the Scots; "we hold them at defiance. Our gentry will remove their families and household stuff; our cottagers and laborers will drive into the mountains and forests their herds and flocks, and transport thither their grain and forage, even to the very straw that covers their huts. We will surround them with a desert; and while they shall never see an enemy, they shall not stir a flight-shot from their standards without being overpowered by an ambush. Let them come on at their pleasure, and when it comes to burning and spoiling, you shall see which has the worst of it."

The event of the campaign proved as the Scots had anticipated. The English army advanced into the Merse and Lothian, finding a country totally waste, where there was nothing to plunder, and little that could even be destroyed, excepting here and there a tower, whose massive walls defied all means of destruction then known, or a cluster of miserable huts, which a few days' labor could easily repair, should they take the trouble to ruin them. Making a shift to maintain themselves by provisions from a fleet which attended their movements, the English army advanced to Edinburgh, when they were recalled by the news that the Scots had invaded Cumberland, and were retaliating with tenfold fury the work of destruction. And such was the superior wealth of England, even in its northern provinces, that, according to Froissart, the Scots obtained more plunder in their *raid*, and did more damage to their enemies, than the English could have inflicted on Scotland had they burned as far as Aberdeen. Both armies retired to their own country, the Scots loaded with spoil, the English reduced by suffering, and the French execrating a species of warfare

in which neither gold nor glory could be gathered. They now desired to leave a kingdom which they despised for its poverty and rudeness, while the natives upbraided them with their effeminate epicurism, and detested them for the arrogance of their pretensions to superior bravery, gallantry, and civilization. The Scots even refused to permit the departure of the Frenchmen until John de Vienne, their commander, agreed to remain as a hostage that the French government should pay the expenses which they had incurred while in Scotland.

Thus parted the French auxiliary force, in poverty, disappointment, and mortification, cursing the hour they had first seen a country so sterile as Scotland, or a people so barbarous as its natives.

The war continued to rage; and in 1388 the Scots thought they had a proper opportunity to retort upon the English the invasion of Richard II. A large army was assembled at Jedburgh for this purpose. The Earl of Fife, second son of the reigning monarch, was commander-in-chief; but the hopes of the army rested upon James, earl of Douglas, a man as much redoubted as any who ever bore that formidable title. The assembled leaders, hearing that the Northumbrians were collecting a considerable force for an invasion of Scotland, resolved that their main body should not advance into England, as had been originally intended, but that a select detachment under Douglas of three hundred men-at-arms, who, with their followers, made up from a thousand to fifteen hundred men, with two thousand chosen infantry, should invade England.

By a swift and secret march, Douglas entered Northumberland, crossed the Tyne, and threw himself on the bishopric of Durham, where he wasted and destroyed the country with fire and sword as far as the gates of York. In his return from an expedition which had been eminently successful, he passed as if in triumph before the gates of Newcastle. In this town lay the two sons of the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Henry Percy, renowned by his nickname of Hot-

spur, with his brother Sir Ralph. They did not tamely endure the presence of their hereditary enemy; but although they had not sufficient forces to give Douglas battle, came forth to skirmish with the Scottish knights, who willingly met them, and broke many spears. A personal encounter took place between the Earl of Douglas himself and Sir Henry Percy, in which Hotspur's lance, bearing a tuft of silk at the extremity, embroidered with his arms, remained in the possession of the Scottish earl. "This trophy," said the Scot, "I will carry to Scotland, and place it on the highest tower of my castle of Dalkeith." "That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do." "Then," replied Douglas, "thou must come this night and take it from before my tent." He then resumed his march up the river Tyne, and encamped at night, expecting that Percy would come to challenge his pennon. Hotspur was only withheld from doing so by the report that Douglas was retreating on the main army of Scotland, and that he might find him united with the Earl of March. But when, on the second day, he heard that the Scottish armies were yet far apart, and that Douglas moved slowly, as if inviting a pursuit, he hastily assembled about six hundred lances, who, with their squires and followers, and several thousand archers, made about eight or ten thousand men in all, and marched westward in pursuit of Douglas.

The Scottish earl had pitched his camp at Otterbourne, a hamlet in Reedsdale, and its lines extended east and west along the banks of the river. The English crossed the Reed, and attacked the right flank of the enemy's position, which they found rudely but strongly fortified, and well defended. Douglas, whose plan of battle had been previously adjusted, continued the defence of the barricade till he had led his men out of the camp, and drawn them up in a compact body, but with a changed front, for his line of battle now stretched north and south, while the river covered one flank, and hills and morasses protected the other. At the same time the vale of the Reed behind gave an avenue for retreat,

should that prove necessary. This change of position in the commencement of the action argues that, besides his high character of chivalry, Douglas, as a general, possessed science beyond what we might esteem the tactics of his age. In the meantime the English were something disordered by pressing through the Scottish camp, and it had the effect in some degree of surprise, when, by the moon of a clear autumn night, they met their opponents within a little distance. The battle instantly joined with loud acclamations of Percy on the one side, and Douglas on the other. The conflict was such as might have been expected between two such champions and their followers. At length the numbers of the English began to prevail, when Douglas, as seems to have been the wont of the heroes of that family, made a desperate personal effort. He rushed on the foe, holding his battle-axe in both hands, and clearing his way by main force. His bannerman pressed on to keep up with his heroic master. At length, involved among the English, and far from his followers, Douglas, despite his armor of proof, received three mortal wounds. But the impulse given by his furious advance had animated the Scots and disheartened the English, nor did either army know the fate of the Scottish leader. Several Scottish knights, pursuing their advantage, pressed up to the place where Douglas was lying in the last agony. They inquired anxiously how he fared? "But indifferently," replied the earl: "life is ebbing fast. There is a prophecy in our house that a dead man shall win a field, and I think it will be this night accomplished. I fall as my fathers did, who seldom have died in chambers or on a sick-bed. Conceal my death; raise my banner; cry my war-cry, and avenge my fall!" The Scottish leaders, their hearts swelling with sorrow and desire of revenge, made a new and desperate attack, and put to flight the English, who were already staggered. Both the Percies remained prisoners, and with them almost all the Englishmen of condition who fought in this celebrated action, which Froissart assures us was one of the most des-

perate in his time, and fought with the most heroic bravery on both sides.

The bishop of Durham arrived the day after the battle with seven thousand men; but after two feints to attack the victor, he shunned to encounter the enemy by whom Hotspur had been beaten. The Scottish detachment rejoined their own main body in a procession which seemed rather that of mourners than of victors, so general was the grief for the loss of their leader.

In 1389, the king of Scotland being now unequal to the fatigues of state, from which he absented himself as much as he could, Robert, earl of Fife, was chosen as regent of the kingdom. He was the second son of the reigning monarch, but was preferred to the seat of government in the place of his elder brother, John, earl of Carrick, because the latter was infirm in his person, being lamed by the kick of a horse, and possessed no efficient activity of mind to amend the want of it in his person.

The regent, after he had been invested with his office, showed considerable energy. The Earl of Nottingham, marshal of England, trusted with the wardenship of the east marches, had reproached the Percies for their defeat at Otterbourne, and boasted of what he would himself have done in similar circumstances. But when the regent Robert, at the head of an equal army, defied him to action, Nottingham declined the combat with the unsoldier-like excuse, "that he was not commissioned to expose the king's liege subjects to danger." The Scots burned Tynemouth, and returned to their own country.

In the summer of the same year, 1389, a truce of three years was formed between France and England, in which Scotland was included as the ally of the former power. Shortly after this event, King Robert II. died at his castle of Dundonald in Ayrshire. He was at the advanced age of seventy-five, and had reigned nineteen years.

CHAPTER XVI

Accession of John, Earl of Carrick—His Name is changed to Robert III.—The State of his Family—Feuds—Burning of Elgin—Inroad of the Highlanders, and Conflict of Glascune—Battle of Bourtree Church—Combat of the Clan Chattan and Clan Quhele—Prince David of Scotland: created Duke of Rothsay: exposed to the Misrepresentations of his Uncle, who becomes Duke of Albany—Marriage of Rothsay—Scandalous Management of Albany: breaks Faith with the Earl of March, who rebels—War with England—Invasion of Henry IV.—The English obliged to retire—Murder of the Duke of Rothsay—Scots defeated at Homildon—Contest between Henry IV. and the Percies—Siege of Coklawis or Ormiston—Prince James sent to France, but taken by the English—Robert III.'s Death

THE character of John, earl of Carrick, eldest son and successor of Robert II., has been already noticed. He was lame in body and feeble in mind—well-meaning, pious, benevolent, and just; but totally disqualified, from want of personal activity and mental energy, to hold the reigns of government of a fierce and unmanageable people.

The new king was invested with his sovereignty at Scone in the usual manner, excepting that, instead of his own name, John, he assumed the title of Robert III., to comply with a superstition of his people, who were impressed with a belief that the former name had distinguished monarchs of England, France, and Scotland, all of whom had been unfortunate. The Scots had also a partiality for the name of Robert, in affectionate and grateful remembrance of Robert Bruce.

The new monarch had been wedded for nigh thirty-three years to Annabella Drummond, daughter of Sir John Drum-

mond of Stobhall, a Scottish lady, whose wisdom and virtues corresponded with her ancient family and exalted station. By this union he had one son, Prince David, a youth of eighteen years old, whose calamitous history and untimely death was doomed to darken his father's reign. Five years after Robert III. had occupied the throne, the queen bore a second son, named James, his father's successor, and the first of that name, afterward so often repeated in the royal line, who swayed the Scottish sceptre.

The new monarch's first attention was to confirm the truce with England, and renew the league with France; so that for eight years the kingdom was freed from the misery of external war, though the indolence of a feeble sovereign left it a prey to domestic feud and the lawless oppression of contending chiefs and nobles: of these we shall only notice one or two marked instances.

In 1390, ere yet the monarch was crowned, the Earl of Buchan, Robert's own brother, in some personal quarrel with the bishop of Murray, assembled a tumultuary army of Highlanders, and burned the stately cathedral of Elgin, without incurring punishment, or even censure, from his feeble-minded sovereign, for an act which combined rebellion and sacrilege.

Two years afterward, three chieftains of the Clan Donnochy (in Lowland speech called Robertsons), instigated or commanded by Duncan Stuart, a natural son of the turbulent Earl of Buchan, came down to ravage the fertile country of Angus. The Grays, Lindsays and Ogilvies marched against them with their followers. A skirmish was fiercely and wildly fought at Glascune in Stormont. An idea of the Highland ferocity may be conceived from one incident. Sir Patrick Lindsay, armed at all points, and well mounted, charged in full career a chief of the Catherans, and pinned him to the earth with his lance. But the savage mountaineer, collecting his strength into a dying effort, thrust himself on the lance, and swayed his two-handed sword with such force as to cut through Lindsay's steel boot, and nearly

sever his limb. He was forced to retire from the field, on which the sheriff of Angus and his brother remained slain, with sixty of their followers. Sir Patrick Gray was also wounded; and the mountaineers, rather victorious than beaten, though they had lost many men, retreated to their fastnesses in safety.

The feuds of the Lowland barons were not less distinguished. Robert Keith, the head of that distinguished family, besieged, in Fyvie Castle, his own aunt, the wife of Lindsay of Crawford. Lindsay marched with five hundred men to her rescue. He encountered Keith at Bourtree Church, in the Garioch, and defeated him with the loss of fifty men. To use a scriptural expression, every one did what seemed right in his own eyes, as if there had been no king in Scotland.

The mode by which the government endeavored to stanch these disorders, and indirectly to get rid of the perpetrators of outrages which they dared not punish by course of justice, was equally wild and savage. In 1396, a clan, or rather a confederation of clans, called the Clan Chattan, were at variance with another union of tribes, called the Clan Kay, or Clan Quhele. Their dispute, which the king's direct authority was unable to decide, was put to the arbitrament of a combat between thirty on each side, to be fought before the king, in the North Inch of Perth, a beautiful meadow by the side of the Tay. When they mustered their forces, one of the Clan Chattan was found missing; but so reckless were men then of life that a citizen of Perth undertook to supply his place for half a mark of silver. The combat was fought with infinite fury, until the Clan Quhele were cut off all but one man, who escaped by swimming the Tay. Several of the Clan Chattan survived, but all severely wounded.

The weak-minded king seems to have carried on his government, such as it was, by the assistance of his brother, the Earl of Fife, who had been regent in the latter years of his father's reign. But his heir-apparent, David, being a youth of good abilities, handsome person, young, active, and chiv-

alrous, was too prominent and popular to be altogether laid out of view. He may be supposed indeed to have displayed some of the follies and levities of youth, which were maliciously insisted on by his uncle, who naturally looked on him with an evil eye; yet we find the prince employed as a commissioner, along with the Earl of Fife, in 1399, when they met on the borders with the Duke of Lancaster; and he was shortly afterward raised by his father, after a solemn council, to the title of Duke of Rothsay. At the same time, to maintain some equality, if not an ascendency, over his nephew, Prince David's ambitious uncle Robert contrived to be promoted from being Earl of Fife to Duke of Albany. Under their new titles both the princes again negotiated on the English frontiers, but to little purpose; for though a foundation of a solid peace would have been acceptable to Richard II., who was then bent on his expedition to Ireland, yet the revolution of 1399 was now at hand, which hurled that sovereign from his throne, and placed there in his stead Henry IV., thus commencing the long series of injuries and wars between York and Lancaster.

Leaving foreign affairs for a short time, we can see that the young heir of the kingdom was for some time trusted by his father in affairs of magnitude. Nay, it is certain that he was at one time declared regent of the kingdom. But Rothsay's youth and precipitate ardor could not compete with the deep craft of Albany, who seems to have possessed the king's ear, by the habitual command which he exercised over him for so many years. It was easy for him to exaggerate every excess of youth of which Rothsay might be guilty, and to stir up against the young prince the suspicions which often lodge in the bosom of an aged and incapable sovereign against a young and active successor.

It is reasonable to think that the affection of Queen Annabella, who had and deserved the esteem of her husband, endeavored to sustain her son in the tacit struggle between him and Albany. It was by her advice that the marriage of the young prince was determined on, as the most probable

means of putting an end to his irregularities. The advice was excellent; but Albany, getting the management of the affair into his own hands, contrived to render it the means of injuring his nephew's honor, and stirring up the nobility to feud and faction against the prince and each other.

He publicly announced that the hand of the Duke of Rothsay should, like a commodity exposed to open auction, be assigned to the daughter of that peer of Scotland who might agree to pay the largest dowry with his bride. Even this base traffic on such a subject Albany contrived to render yet more vile by the dishonest manner in which it was conducted. George, earl of March, proved the highest offerer on this extraordinary occasion, and having paid down a part of the proposed portion, his daughter was affianced to the Duke of Rothsay. The Earl of Douglas, envying the aggrandizement which the House of March must have derived from such a union, interfered, and prevailed upon Albany, who was perhaps not unwilling to mix up the nuptials of his nephew with yet more disgraceful circumstances, to break off the treaty entered into with March, and substitute an alliance with the daughter of Douglas himself. No other apology was offered to March for this breach of contract than that the marriage treaty had not been confirmed by the estates of the kingdom; and, to sum up the injustice with which he was treated, the government refused or delayed to refund the sum of money which had been advanced by him, as part of his daughter's marriage-portion. As the power of the Earl of March lay on the frontiers of both kingdoms, the bonds of allegiance had never sat heavily on that great family, and a less injury than that which the present earl had received might have sufficed to urge him into rebellion. Accordingly, he instantly entered into a secret negotiation with Henry IV., and soon afterward took refuge in England. The acquisition of such a partisan was particularly welcome to the English sovereign at this period, as will appear from the following circumstances.

Very nearly at the precise period (1399) when Henry IV.

made himself master of the crown of England, the existing truce between Scotland and that country expired; and the Scottish borderers, instigated by their restless temper, made fierce incursions on the opposite frontier. They sustained, however, a sharp defeat at Fulhope-law, from Sir Robert Umfraville, in which many of their principal chiefs were taken. This did not prevent other enterprises, to which the condition of England, convulsed by the recent change of dynasty, offered but too many temptations. The Scottish borderers took and burned the castle of Wark, and committed great inroads, to which the English frontiers, wasted by a raging pestilence, could scarce offer the usual resistance.

This predatory warfare on the Scottish frontier was instigated by France, although she did not herself enter into hostilities with England, on account of the indisposition of the sovereign, Charles. At this period, therefore, the accession of the Earl of March's assistance was an event of great consequence to England, and proportionally dangerous to Scotland. Henry IV. determined to chastise the Scottish depredators, and to revenge himself on the Duke of Albany, who, in some intercepted letters, had described him as a pre-eminent traitor.

In 1400, Henry therefore summoned the whole military force of England to meet him at York, and published an arrogant manifesto, in which he vindicated the antiquated claim of supremacy, which had been so long in abeyance, and, assuming the tone of lord paramount, commanded the Scottish king, with his prelates and nobles, to meet him at Edinburgh and render homage. Of course no one attended upon that summons, excepting the new proselyte March, who met Henry at Newcastle, and was received to the English fealty. But if Henry's boast of subjecting Scotland was a bravado inconsistent with his usual wisdom, his warfare, on the contrary, was marked by a degree of forbearance and moderation too seldom the characteristic of an English invader. Penetrating as far as Edinburgh, he extended his especial protection to the canons of Holyrood, from whom

his father, John of Gaunt, had experienced shelter, and in general spared religious houses.

The castle of Edinburgh was gallantly held out by the Duke of Rothsay, aided by the skill and experience of his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas. Albany commanded a large army, which, according to the ancient Scottish policy, hovered at some distance from the English host. The Scots had wisely resolved upon the defensive system of war which had so frequently saved Scotland. But they could not forbear some of the bravado of the time. The Duke of Rothsay wrote to Henry that, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was willing to rest the national quarrel upon the event of a combat of one, two, or three nobles on every side. Henry laughed at this sally of youthful vivacity, and, in answer, expressed his wonder how Rothsay should think of saving Christian blood at the expense of shedding that of the nobility, who, it was to be hoped, were Christians as well as others. Albany also would have his gasconade. He sent a herald to Henry to say that, if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would do battle with him to the extremity. The English king gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald, in token that he joyfully accepted the challenge. But Albany had no purpose of keeping his word; and Henry found nothing was to be won by residing in a wasted country to beleaguer an impregnable rock. He raised the siege and retired into England, where the rebellion of Owen Glendower soon after broke out. A truce of twelve months and upward took place between the kingdoms.

In this interval a shocking example, in Scotland, proved how ambition can induce men to overleap all boundaries prescribed by the laws of God and man. We have seen the Duke of Rothsay stoutly defending the castle of Edinburgh in 1400. But when the war was ended he seems to have fallen into the king his father's displeasure. The queen, who might have mediated between them, was dead. Archibald, earl of Douglas, was also deceased; and, notwithstand-

ing their connection by marriage, there was mortal enmity between the prince and a second Archibald, who succeeded to that earldom. Trail, bishop of St. Andrew's, a worthy prelate, who had often mediated in the disputes of the royal family, was also no more. The Duke of Rothsay was therefore open to all the accusations, however exaggerated, with which Albany's creatures could fill his credulous ears. One Sir John de Ramorgny, who had been the prince's tutor, appears to have been the most active in traducing him to his father. This man, it is said, had even offered to the prince to assassinate Albany, and being repulsed by him with abhorrence, took this method to revenge himself. Deceived by malicious reports of his son's wildness and indocility, the simple old king was induced to grant a commission to Albany to arrest his son, and detain him for some time in captivity, to tame the stubborn spirit of profligacy by which he had been taught to believe him possessed.

But the unnatural kinsman was determined on taking the life of his nephew, the heir of his too confiding brother. The Duke of Rothsay was trepanned into Fife, made prisoner, and conducted to Falkland Castle, where he was immured in a dungeon, and starved to death. Old historians affirm that the compassion of two females protracted his life and his miseries, one by supplying him from time to time with thin cakes of barley, another after the manner of the Roman charity. It is not likely that, where so stern a purpose was adopted, any access would be permitted to such means of relief.

The death of the prince was imputed to a dysentery. A simulated inquiry was made into the circumstances by a parliament, which was convened under the management of the authors of the murder. Albany and Douglas acknowledged having arrested the prince, vindicating themselves by the royal mandate for that act of violence, but imputed his death to disease. Yet they showed a consciousness of guilt, by taking out a pardon in terms as broad and comprehensive as might shroud them from any subsequent charge for the

murder which they denied, as well as for the arrest which they avowed.

The truce with England was now ended (1402), and Douglas hastened to drown in border warfare, which was his natural element, the recollection of his domestic crimes. But fortune seemed to have abandoned him, or Heaven refused to countenance the accomplice of an innocent prince's most inhuman murder. From this time, notwithstanding his valor and military skill, he lost so many of his followers in each action which he fought as to merit the name of Tyne-man; *i.e.*, Lose-man.

The men of the Merse, influenced by the exiled Earl of March, no longer showed their usual alacrity in making incursions on the border; and the Earl of Douglas applied to the landholders of Lothian to discharge this military service. Their first raid was successful; but in the second they were intercepted by the Earl of March and a large body both of English and his own personal followers, at a place called West Nesbit. Hepburn of Hales, the leader of the Scots, was slain; many noble youths of Lothian were also killed or made prisoners.

Douglas, incensed at this loss, requested and obtained a considerable force, under command of Albany's son, Murdach, earl of Fife, with the Earls of Angus, Murray, and Orkney. His own battalions augmented the force to ten thousand men, and spread plunder and devastation as far as the gates of Newcastle. But Sir Henry Percy (the celebrated Hotspur), had assembled a numerous array, and together with his father, the Earl of Northumberland, and their ally March, engaged the Scots at Homildon, a hill within a mile of Wooler, on which Douglas had posted his army. Hotspur was about to rush with his characteristic impetuosity on the Scottish ranks, when the Earl of March, laying hand on his bridle, advised him first to try the effects of the archery. The bowmen of England did their duty with their usual fatal certainty and celerity, and the Scottish army, drawn up on the acclivity, presented a fatal mark

to their shafts. A brave knight, Sir John Swinton, like Graham at the battle of Durham, saw the disadvantage in which they were placed, and suggested a remedy. "Let us not stand here to be shot like a herd of deer," he exclaimed; "but let us down on these English, engage them hand to hand, and live or die like men." Adam Gordon, a young border nobleman, whose family had been long at feud with that of Swinton, heard this bold exhortation, and throwing himself from his horse, renounced the deadly quarrel, and asked knighthood of his late foe: "For of hand more noble," he exclaimed, "may I never take that honor." Swinton knighted him with the brief ceremony practiced in such urgent circumstances, and they rushed down the hill with their united vassals. But too weak in numbers to make the desired impression, they were both slain with all their followers. Douglas himself now showed an inclination to descend the hill; but encountering a little precipice in the descent which had not been before perceived, the Scottish ranks became confused and broken, their disarray enabling the archers, who had fallen a little back, to continue their fatal volley, which now descended as upon an irregular mob. The rout became general. Very many Scots were slain. Douglas was made captive; five wounds and the loss of an eye showed he had done his duty as a soldier, though not as a general. Murdach, earl of Fife, son of the regent, Albany, with the Earls of Murray and Angus, and about twenty chiefs and men of eminence, became also prisoners.

Great was the joy of Hotspur over this victory, and great the pleasure of Henry IV. when the news reached him. Yet fate had so decreed that the victory of Homildon became the remote cause that the monarch's throne was endangered, and that Percy lost his life in a rebellious conspiracy.

No law of chivalry was more certain than that which placed at the will of the victor the captive of his sword and spear, to ransom or hold him prisoner at pleasure; and so

much was this rule established on the borders, that when an English or Scottish prisoner was taken, nothing was more common than for the captor to permit the vanquished to retire from the field of battle, having first promised to meet him upon a day fixed, and settle with him for ransom. Nor was the consent either of the king or general necessary to this kind of practice. Nevertheless, on this occasion, Henry wrote to the victorious Percies, commanding them not to admit the important prisoners made at Homildon to be ransomed or delivered without his special consent. On the other hand, he generously bestowed upon the earl and his son, Sir Henry Percy, the whole earldom of Douglas, with all the territories of that proud family. The father and son regarded the first proposition of the king as an injury; and for the second, being the grant of a martial tract of country which was yet to be conquered, they deemed in their hearts they owed the king no gratitude. At the same time they received them both with seeming satisfaction, resolved to make the conquest of the earldom of Douglas the pretext of assembling forces which they were determined to employ very differently.

Accordingly, in June, 1403, the Percies besieged a tower named Coklawis, or Ormiston, and agreed with the owner that he should surrender if not relieved by the regent of Scotland before Lambmas. Albany upon receiving this intelligence assembled his council, and asked their opinion whether the place should be relieved or no? All the counsellors, who knew the duke's poverty of spirit, conceived they were sure to meet his wishes when they recommended that the border turret should be abandoned to its fate, rather than a battle should be hazarded for its preservation. The regent, well knowing the secret purpose of the Percies, whose forces were about to be directed against England, took the opportunity of swaggering a little. "By Heaven and Saint Fillan," said he, "I will keep the day of appointment before Coklawis, were there none to follow me thither but Peter de Kinbuck, who holds my horse yon-

der." The council heard him with wonder and applause; and it was not until they reached Coklawis with a considerable army, the Scottish nobles learned that what had given this temporary fit of courage to their regent was the certainty that he could not meet Hotspur, of whose death and defeat at Shrewsbury they were soon after informed. The cowardice of the heart is perhaps better learned from a fanfaronade of this kind, than from an accidental failure of the nerves in a moment of danger. Some proposals made for peace only produced a feverish truce of brief duration.

Meantime Prince James, the only surviving son of the poor infirm old king, being now (1405) in his eleventh year, required better education than Scotland could afford, and protection more efficient than that of his debilitated father. Robert III. could not but suspect the cause and circumstances of his eldest son's death, and be conscious that the ambition which had prompted the removal of Rothsay would not be satisfied without the life of James also. The youthful prince was, therefore, committed to the care of Wardlaw, bishop of Saint Andrew's, and was by his advice sent to France, as the safest means of protecting him from his uncle's schemes of treachery or violence. He was embarked accordingly, Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, being appointed as his governor. A considerable number of Lothian gentlemen, with David Fleming of Cumbernauld, attended him to the ship. But on their return they were attacked, for what reason is unknown, by James Douglas of Balveny, uncle to the earl. A skirmish took place on Hermanston Moor, where Fleming and several of his companions fell.

This bloody omen, at the commencement of Prince James's voyage, was followed by equally calamitous consequences. The vessel in which he was embarked had not gained Flamborough Head, when she was taken by an English corsair. As the truce at the time actually subsisted, this capture of the prince was in every respect contrary to the law of nations. But knowing the importance of possessing the royal hostage, Henry resolved to detain him

at all events. "In fact," he said, "the Scots ought to have given me the education of this boy, for I am an excellent French scholar." Apparently this new disaster was an incurable wound to the old king; yet he survived, laden with years and infirmities, till 1406, just a twelvemonth after this last misfortune. His death made no change in public affairs, and was totally unfelt in the administration, which continued in the hands of Albany.

CHAPTER XVII

Regency of Robert, Duke of Albany—Earl of March returns to his Allegiance—A Heretic burned—Jedburgh Castle taken: Tax proposed for Expense of its Demolition: the Duke of Albany refuses to consent to it—Donald of the Isles claims the Earldom of Ross—He invades the Mainland—The Earl of Mar opposes him—Circumstances of the Earl's Life—Battle of the Harlaw: its Consequences—Intricate Negotiation between Albany and Henry IV.—Hostilities with England—Death of the Regent Albany

THE talents of Robert, duke of Albany, as a statesman were not such as in any degree to counterbalance his crimes. Yet his rule was not unpopular. This was in a great measure effected by liberality, or rather by profusion, in which he indulged with less hesitation as his gifts were at the expense of the royal revenues and authority. The clergy, who were edified by his bounties to the Church, recorded his devotion in their chronicles. He connived at the excesses of power frequent among the nobility; solaced them with frequent and extravagant entertainments; and indulged all their most unreasonable wishes respecting lands and jurisdictions at the expense of the crown. An air of affability and familiarity, added to a noble presence and a splendid attendance, procured the shouts of the populace. Although timid, the regent was conscious of his own defect, and careful in concealing it. He was intelligent in public business; and when the interest of the country was identified with his own, he could pursue with expedition and eagerness the best paths for attaining it.

When Robert III., therefore, died, the right of the Duke of Albany to the regency during the captivity of James was universally acknowledged.

His government, after the death of his brother, Robert III. (1407), commenced with a show of prosperity. He renewed the league offensive and defensive with the kingdom of France, and entered into negotiation with England. In the communings which ensued, he made no application for the liberation of his nephew, the present sovereign, nor was his name even mentioned in the transaction. But the Earl of Douglas, whose military services were valuable to the defence of the frontier, was restored to freedom, having been taken at the battle of Shrewsbury, where he had fought on the side of Sir Henry Percy with his usual distinguished valor, beating down the king of England with his own hand, but being in the course of the conflict himself made prisoner, according to his habitual bad luck. George, earl of March, had rendered Henry IV. effectual assistance during that insurrection, being the first who apprised that monarch of the conspiracy against him. But he was now weary of his exile, and, disappointed of his revenge, returned to his allegiance to Scotland, upon restoration of his estates. These were great points gained in reference to defence upon the border.

In 1408, Albany had also an opportunity of gratifying the churchmen, by giving over to their vindictive prosecution one Resby, a Lollard, or follower of Wickliffe. He was tried before Lawrence Lindores, as president of a council of the clergy; and being condemned for heresy, and chiefly for disowning the pope's authority, suffered at the stake in the town of Perth.

The truce with England not having been renewed, hostilities were recommenced by an exploit of the warlike inhabitants of Teviotdale, who, vexed by the English garrison which had retained the important castle of Jedburgh, stormed and took that strong fortress. It was resolved in parliament that it should be destroyed; but as the walls were extensive and very strongly built, and the use of gunpowder in mining was not yet understood, it was proposed that a tax of two pennies should be imposed on each hearth

in Scotland to maintain the laborers employed in the task. The regent's love of popularity instantly displayed itself. He declared that in his administration no burden should be imposed on the poor, and caused the expense to be defrayed out of the royal revenue. The truce with England was afterward renewed. In the ratification of it, Albany styled himself regent by the grace of God, and used the phrase "our subjects of Scotland," not satisfied, it would seem, with delegated authority.

In the meantime, a contest of the most serious nature arose between the Celtic and the Lowland or Saxon population of Scotland.

The lords of the Isles, during the utter confusion which extended through Scotland during the regency, had found it easy to reassume that independence of which they had been deprived during the vigorous reign of Robert Bruce. They possessed a fleet, with which they harassed the mainland at pleasure; and Donald, who now held that insular lordship, ranked himself among the allies of England, and made peace and war as an independent sovereign. The regent had taken no steps to reduce this kinglet to obedience, and would probably have shunned engaging in a task so arduous, had not Donald insisted upon pretensions to the earldom of Ross, occupying a great extent in the northwest of Scotland, including the large Isle of Skye, and lying adjacent to, and connected with, his own insular dominions.

His claim stood thus: Euphemia, countess of Ross, had bestowed her hand upon Walter Lesley, who became in her right Earl of Ross. They had two children, Alexander, who succeeded his mother in the earldom, and a daughter, who was wedded to Donald of the Isles. Lesley being dead, his widow married Alexander, earl of Buchan, a brother of the regent; but they had no issue. Alexander, earl of Ross, made a second connection with the royal family of Stewart, by marrying Isabel, the daughter of the Regent Albany, by whom he had one child, also named Euphemia. This lady had expressed her purpose of retir-

ing into a convent; and it was understood that she meant to resign the Earldom of Ross, which was her own undoubted right, in favor of her maternal uncle, Alexander, earl of Buchan, son of the regent by his second marriage. Such a resignation would have been destructive of Donald the Islander's title in right of his wife.

Regarding Euphemia, retired into a cloister, as dead in law, the lord of the Isles determined to assert his right by arms. He led an army of ten thousand Hebrideans and Highlanders, headed by their chieftains, into Ross; succeeded in seizing the castle of Dingwall; and, not satisfied with this success, he continued his desolating march as far as the Garioch, threatening not only to plunder Aberdeen, but to ravage the low country of the Mearns and Angus as far as the margin of the Tay.

The consequence of Donald's succeeding in his pretensions must have been the loss to the regent of the earldom which he had destined to one of his own family, and most serious evils to the kingdom of Scotland, since it would have been a conquest by the savage over the civilized inhabitants, and must in the sequel have tended to the restoration of barbarism with all its evils.

Alexander Stewart, earl of Mar, hastily assembled the chivalry of the Lowlands, to stop the desolating march of Donald and his army. This earl was himself an extraordinary person; and his life was such a picture of those disorderly times that a slight sketch of it will better describe them than many pages of vague and general declamation. He was natural son to Alexander, earl of Buchan, second son of Robert II., the same turbulent chief who burned the Cathedral of Elgin ere yet his uncle Robert III. was crowned. Educated under such a sire, Alexander became himself the leader of a fierce band of Catherans, or Highland freebooters, and in that capacity aimed at raising himself by violence to rank and opulence. He proceeded thus:—Sir Malcolm Drummond of Stobhill, brother of Annabella, the queen of Robert III., had been surprised in his own castle by Highland ban-

ditti, and died in their rude custody. Alexander Stewart was suspected of accession to this violence, and these suspicions were strengthened when he suddenly appeared with a body of armed Catherans before the castle of Kildrummie, the residence of Isabel, the widow of the murdered Sir Malcolm Drummond, countess of Mar in her own right. The castle was stormed, and the widowed countess, whether by persuasion or force, was induced to give her hand to Alexander Stewart, the leader of the band who took her mansion, and in all probability the author of her husband's imprisonment and death. A few weeks after their marriage, he conceived the lady so reconciled to her lot that he ventured to repossess her in her castle, with the furniture, title-deeds, etc., and coming himself before the gates, humbly rendered her the keys, in token that the whole was at her disposal. The issue, which Stewart had probably been previously well assured of, was, that the lady received him kindly, and of her own free will, and the good favor which she bore to him, accepted of him as her husband, after which he took the title and assumed the power and possessions of the earldom of Mar in right of the Countess Isabel.

Thus exalted above his trade of a robber, Stewart showed by his subsequent conduct that there was something noble in his mind corresponding with his elevation, which, though accomplished by such violent means, was not challenged during the feeble and corrupt regency of Albany. He distinguished himself by the exercise of feats of chivalry, and engaged in many tournaments both in Scotland and England. At length his restless spirit carried him abroad in quest of fame. The Earl of Mar was distinguished and honored for his wit, virtue, and bounty, at Paris, where he kept open house. From the court of Paris the earl passed to that of Burgundy. At this time the bishop of Liege, John of Bavaria, "a clerk without the external behavior of one," was in danger from a rebellion of his insurgent people, and the Duke of Burgundy was marching to his assistance. Finding himself in a situation where fame could be won,

Mar, with a hundred Scottish lances, chiefly men of quality seeking renown and feats of battle, accompanied the duke's host. As the battle was about to join, the Earl of Mar, seeing two strong champions, armed with battle-axes, advanced three spears' length before the army of Liege, commanded his banner to halt, and calling to his squire, John of Ceres, to follow him, rushed on these two champions, who proved to be the leaders of the mutiny, Sir Henry Horn and his son, and slew them hand to hand. He did also great actions in the battle, and highly exalted his own name and the honor of his country. On his return to Scotland, the fire of his youth having now subsided, he became a firm supporter of good order, to which his early exploits had been so hostile, maintained some regular government of the northern counties, and was the leader to whom all men looked up as likely to arrest the course of the lord of the Isles. It was a singular chance, however, that brought against Donald, who might be called the king of the Gael, one whose youth had been distinguished as a leader of their plundering bands, and no less strange that the islander's claim to the earldom of Ross should be traversed by one whose title to that of Mar was so much more challengeable.

The whole Lowland gentry of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire rose in arms with the Earl of Mar. The town of Aberdeen sent out a gallant body of citizens under Sir Robert Davidson, their provost; Ogilvy, the sheriff of Angus, brought up his own martial name and the principal gentlemen of that county. Yet, when both armies met at Harlaw, near the head of the Garioch, July 24, 1411, the army of Mar was considerably inferior to that of Donald of the Isles, under whose banner the love of arms and hope of plunder had assembled the M'Intoshes and other more northern clans. Being the flower of the respective races, the Gaelic and Saxon armies joined battle with the most inveterate rage and fury. About a thousand Highlanders fell, together with the two high chiefs of M'Intosh and M'Lean. Mar's loss did not exceed half the number, but comprehended many gentlemen,

as indeed his forces chiefly consisted of such. The provost of Aberdeen was killed, with so many citizens as to occasion a municipal regulation that the chief magistrate of that town, acting in that capacity, should go only a certain brief space from the precincts of the liberties.

The battle of Harlaw might in some degree be considered as doubtful; but all the consequences of victory remained with the Lowlanders. The insular lord retreated after the action, unable to bring his discouraged troops to a second battle. The Regent Albany acted on the occasion with a spirit and promptitude which his government seldom evinced. He placed himself at the head of a new army, and occupied the disputed territory of Ross, where he took and garrisoned the castle of Dingwall. In the next summer, he assembled a fleet, threatened Donald of the Isles with an invasion of his territories, and compelled him to submit himself to the allegiance of Scotland, and give hostages for his obedience in future. The battle of Harlaw and its consequences were of the highest importance, since they might be said to decide the superiority of the more civilized regions of Scotland over those inhabited by the Celtic tribes, who remained almost as savage as their forefathers the Dalriads. The Highlands and Isles continued, indeed, to give frequent disturbance by their total want of subordination and perpetual incursions upon their neighbors; but they did not again venture to combine their forces for a simultaneous attack upon the Lowlands, with the hope of conquest and purpose of settlement.

Another mark of the advance of civilization was the erection of the University of Saint Andrew's, which was founded and endowed under the auspices of Henry Wardlaw, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, cardinal, and the pope's legate for Scotland, in 1411.

In his intercourse with England the Regent Albany was very singularly situated. His most important negotiations with that power respected the fate of two prisoners—the one James, his nephew and prince, who had fallen, as already

mentioned, into the hands of Henry IV. by a gross breach of the law of nations—the other being the regent's own son Murdach, earl of Fife, taken in the battle of Homildon. Respecting these captives the views of Albany were extremely different. He was bound to make some show of a desire to have his sovereign James set at liberty, since not only the laws of common allegiance and family affection enjoined him to make an apparent exertion in his nephew's behalf, but the feudal constitutions, which imposed on the vassal the charge of ransoming his lord and superior when captive, rendered this in every point of view an inviolable obligation. At the same time his policy dictated to him to protract as long as possible the absence of the king of Scotland, with whose return his own power as regent must necessarily terminate. For the liberation of his son Murdach, on the contrary, the regent naturally was induced to interfere with all the ardor and sincerity of paternal feeling. The nature of these negotiations, especially of the first, in which the Duke of Albany's professions and the tenor of his proposals must have borne an ostensible purport very different from his own wishes, naturally gave a degree of mystery and complexity to the proceedings of the regent and his intercourse with the court of England. The very manner in which James is described in these proceedings is ambiguous, and does not convey or infer the quality of heir to the Scottish crown, the power of which was for the time exercised by Albany. He is termed "the son of our late lord King Robert," which is far from necessarily implying his title of heir of Scotland, since either a natural or a younger son of the late king might have been so termed. This studied ambiguity seems to infer that Albany, whose ambition had dictated the murder of the Duke of Rothsay, was desirous to clear the way to the exclusive possession of the throne, which he only occupied at present as the delegate of another, whose rights, therefore, he was disposed to keep as much out of view as possible. Henry IV., whose own road to sovereignty had been by usurpation, was crafty enough

to comprehend the feelings by which the Duke of Albany was actuated, and took care to throw such obstructions in the way of James I.'s return to his dominions as might gratify the real wishes of the regent Duke of Albany without laying him under the necessity of speaking out too plainly his desire to protract his nephew's captivity. Another and a very curious subject of diplomatic discussion subsisted between Henry IV. and the regent of Scotland.

There is a story told by Bower, or Bowmaker, the continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, which has hitherto been treated as fabulous by the more modern historians. This story bears that Richard II., generally supposed to have been murdered at Pontefract Castle, either by the "fierce hand of Sir Piers of Exton," or by the slower and more cruel death of famine, did in reality make his escape by subtlety from his place of confinement; that he fled in disguise to the Scottish isles, and was recognized in the dominions of the lord of the Isles by a certain fool or jester who had been familiar in the court of England, as being no other than the dethroned king of that kingdom. Bower proceeds to state that the person of Richard II. thus discovered was delivered up by the lord of the Isles to the Lord Montgomery, and by him presented to Robert III., by whom he was honorably and beseemingly maintained during all the years of that prince's life. After the death of Robert III., this Richard is stated to have been supported in magnificence, and even in royal state, by the Duke of Albany, to have at length died in the Castle of Stirling, and to have been interred in the church of the friars there, at the north angle of the altar. This singular legend is also attested by another contemporary historian, Winton, the prior of Lochleven. He tells the story with some slight differences, particularly that the fugitive and deposed monarch was recognized by an Irish lady, the wife of a brother of the lord of the Isles, that had seen him in Ireland—that being charged with being King Richard, he denied it—that he was placed in custody of the Lord of Montgomery, and afterward of the Lord of

Cumbernauld—and, finally, that he was long under the care of the regent Duke of Albany. "But whether he was king or not, few," said the chronicler of Lochleven, "knew with certainty. The mysterious personage exhibited little devotion, would seldom incline to hear mass, and bore himself like one half wild or distracted." Serle also, yeoman of the robes to Richard, was executed, because, coming from Scotland to England, he reported that Richard was alive in the latter country. This legend, of so much importance to the history of both North and South Britain, has been hitherto treated as fabulous. But the researches and industry of the latest historian of Scotland have curiously illustrated this point, and shown, from evidence collected in the original records, that this captive, called Richard II., actually lived many years in Scotland, and was supported at the public expense of that country.

It is then now clear, that, to counterbalance the advantage which Henry IV. possessed over the regent of Scotland by having in his custody the person of James, and consequently the power of putting an end to the delegated government of Albany whenever he should think fit to set the young king at liberty; Albany, on his side, had in his keeping the person of Richard II., or of some one strongly resembling him, a prisoner whose captivity was not of less importance to the tranquillity of Henry IV., who at no period possessed his usurped throne in such security as to view with indifference a real or pretended resuscitation of the deposed Richard.

It would be too tedious, were it possible, for us to trace distinctly the complicated negotiations between the king and regent. Each conscious of possessing an advantage over the other, and at the same time feeling a corresponding encumbrance on his own part, endeavored, like a skilful wrestler, to take advantage of the hold which he possessed over his adversary, while at the same time he felt the risk of himself receiving the fall which he designed to give his opponent. These two crafty persons, standing in this singular relation to each other, and each conscious of defects in his own title,

negotiated constantly, without being able to bring their treaties either to a final close or an open rupture.

The death of Henry IV. and the accession of Henry V. did not greatly alter the situation of the two countries, but were so far of advantage to Albany that he obtained the liberation of his son Murdach, earl of Fife, in exchange for the young Earl of Northumberland, the son of the celebrated Hotspur. This youth had been sent into Scotland by his grandfather for safety, when about to display his banner against Henry IV. of England. Whatever benefit the captive monarch of Scotland might have gained by such a hostage as the young Percy being lodged in the hands of his subjects was lost to him by the regent accomplishing the exchange between the Earl of Northumberland and his own son.

In 1417, while Henry V. was engaged in France, the Regent Albany, supposing that the greater part of the English forces were over-seas, gathered a large force, and besieged at once both Roxburgh Castle and the town of Berwick. A much superior army of English advanced under the Dukes of Exeter and Bedford, and compelled the regent of Scotland to raise both the sieges, with much loss of reputation, as the Scots bestowed on his ill-advised enterprise the name of the Foul Raid, that is, the dishonorable inroad.

The war, which seemed for some time to languish, received some interest from a daring exploit of Halyburton of Fastcastle, who surprised the castle of Wark, situated upon the Tweed. Robert Ogle, however, recovered it for the English, by taking Halyburton by surprise in his turn, when, scaling the castle, he put him and his followers to the sword.

In a parliament in the year 1419 the Scottish estates agreed to send the Dauphin of France, now hard pressed by the victorious Henry, a considerable body of auxiliary troops, under the command of the regent's second son, John Stewart, earl of Buchan. The history of the expedition belongs to the next chapter.

This was the last act of Albany's administration which merits historical notice. After having governed Scotland as prime minister of Robert I. and Robert II., and as regent for James I., for fifty years, he died at the age of eighty and upward. The Duke of Albany as a statesman was an unprincipled politician, and, as a soldier, of suspected courage. As a ruler he had his merits. He was wise and prudent in his government, regular in the administration of justice, and merciful in the infliction of punishment. If Scotland made no great figure under his administration, he contrived to secure her against any considerable loss. His contemporaries have recorded with much admiration Albany's liberality to the Church, and his generosity to the nobles. The exercise of bounty in both instances was politically so essential to the existence of his government that we must hesitate in the present age to record his munificence as virtue. Were it not for the cold-blooded and detestable murder of his nephew, the Duke of Rothsay, which stamps his character with atrocity, ambition and its temptations might, perhaps, be in some degree the apology, as it certainly was the cause, of the faults and defects of his character.

CHAPTER XVIII

Duke Murdach's Regency—His Character—A Pestilence in Britain—The Conduct of the Regent's Family—Treaty for the Liberation of James I.—He is restored to his Kingdom—Scottish Auxiliaries in France—Character of James I.—Execution of Duke Murdach and his Friends—Disorders in the Highlands repressed—League with France, and Contract of the Scottish Princess with the Dauphin—War with the Lord of the Isles, and his Submission—Acts of the Legislature—Donald Balloch—Treaty with England—Proceedings toward the Earl of March—War with England—Parliament of 1436—Conspiracy against James—He is Murdered—Fate of the Regicides

MURDACH, earl of Fife, already repeatedly named in this history, succeeded to his father in his title as Duke of Albany, and his high office as regent of Scotland, but neither to his lofty ambition nor to the qualities of craft and cruelty which supported it. He is everywhere described as a man of an easy and slothful character, who, far from having the boldness and prudence necessary to rule so fierce a people as the Scots, seems to have been unable to exert the authority necessary for the government of his own family.

The evils which attended the feeble and remiss government of this second Duke of Albany were aggravated by a public misfortune, which no wisdom or energy could have prevented, but which, nevertheless, added to the unpopularity of the regent, it being the custom of the common people to censure their rulers as much for misfortunes arising purely out of their bad fortune as for those which flow directly from their misconduct. A contagious disease, resembling a fever and dysentery, wasted the land universally,

and cut off many victims. Among other distinguished persons who died of this disorder were the Earl of Orkney, Lord Douglas of Dalkeith, and George, earl of March, remarkable for the versatility with which he changed sides between England and Scotland, and not less for the good fortune which attended his banner, on whatever side it was displayed.

Murdach, duke of Albany, such as we have described him, became in the space of five years weary of exercising an administration, which was popular with no man, over a disorderly country, wasted by pestilence and divided by the feuds of the nobility. He determined to rid himself of the responsibility of the regency, although he must have been internally conscious that such a power, though difficult and unsafe to wield, could not be resigned without much danger. It was, perhaps, a sense of the perils to which he might be exposed, if called by the king to account for many years of misrule, his father's as well as his own, which made him suspend his resolution till 1423, when his decision is said by tradition to have been precipitated by an act of insolent insubordination on the part of Walter, his eldest son. The regent Murdach had a falcon which he highly valued, and which his son Walter had often asked of him in vain. Exasperated at repeated refusal, the insolent young man snatched the bird as it sat on his father's wrist, and killed it by twisting round its neck. Deeply hurt at this brutal act of disrespect, Murdach dropped the ominous words, "Since you will render me no honor or obedience, I will bring home one who well knows how to make all of us obey him." From this time he threw into the long-protracted negotiation for the freedom of James a sincerity which speedily brought it to a conclusion.

Henry V. being now dead, John, duke of Bedford, protector of England, was defending with much skill and prudence the acquisitions which his brother's valor had made in France. Occupied with this task, he was willing to use a liberal policy toward Scotland; to restore their lawful king,

so long unjustly detained; having formed, if possible, such an alliance between him and some English lady of rank as might maintain in the young monarch's mind the feelings of predilection toward England which were the natural consequence of a long residence in that country and familiarity with its laws and manners. He thus hoped at once to enlarge James, to make a friend of him, and to secure England against further interference on the part of Scotland in the wars of France, where the army of auxiliaries, under the Earl of Buchan, had produced a marked effect upon the last campaigns. And here, before proceeding further, the reader must be made acquainted with the exploits and the fortunes of the body of Scotsmen sent to support the dauphin, in the extremity of his distress, against the English arms.

The little army consisted of from five to seven thousand men, among whom were numbered many lords, knights, and barons, the flower of the Scottish chivalry, who gladly embraced an opportunity of acquiring fame in arms under a leader so distinguished as Buchan. The small number of the Scots made them willing to submit themselves to the rules of discipline; and whenever that leading point could be attained, their natural courage has displayed itself to advantage. Their first exploit was at Baugé, a village in Anjou, where they lay along with a small body of Frenchmen. The Duke of Clarence, brother to Henry V. of England, had been detached to invade that province, and had just sat down to dinner when he learned that he was in the vicinity of the Scottish auxiliaries. "Upon them, gentlemen!" said the fiery prince, springing from table: "let the men-at-arms instantly mount and follow me." He made a rapid march to surprise the Scots; but the church of Baugé was garrisoned by some French, who made a gallant defence, giving the Scots time to get themselves into order on the opposite bank of the River Coesnon. Bent on taking them at advantage, Clarence, at the head of the men-at-arms, rode fiercely forward to possess himself of the bridge. On the other side, the Scottish knights galloped down to defend the pass. Sir

William of Swinton distinguished the English prince by the coronet of gold and gems which he wore over his helmet; and meeting him in full course unhorsed and wounded him. As Clarence strove to regain his steed, the Earl of Buchan struck him down with a mace, and slew him. Many brave English knights were slain: the Earl of Kent, the Lords Grey and Ross, with fourteen hundred men-at-arms, were left on the field. The Earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were made prisoners.

In reward of such distinguished service, the dauphin, now king of France by the title of Charles VII., created Buchan high constable of France, and conferred upon Stewart of Darnley the lordship of Aubigny in France. Desirous of increasing the forces by which he had acquired so much fame and honor, the Earl of Buchan returned to Scotland to obtain recruits. He found that his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, with the license assumed by men of far less importance than himself during the feeble government of the regency, was then engaged in a treaty with Henry V. of England, whom he was to serve with two hundred horse and as many infantry, for the stipend of two hundred pounds a year. The influence of Buchan disturbed this agreement; and Douglas, who seems to have conducted himself during the whole matter like an independent prince, instead of joining the English, accepted of the Duchy of Touraine, offered to him on the part of Charles VII. of France, and engaged to bring to his aid an auxiliary force of five thousand men.

He came accordingly; but the bad fortune which procured him the name of Tyne-man (Lose-man) continued to wait on his banners. The Scots sustained a severe defeat at Crevan. They had formed the blockade of that place; but were surprised by the Earl of Salisbury, who raised the siege, by defeating them with a slaughter of nine hundred men.

A battle yet more fatal to the Scots took place near the town of Verneuil, 17th August, 1424. It was a general action, risked by the king of France for the relief of Yvry,

besieged by the English. The Duke of Bedford, who commanded the English, and whom Douglas had called in derision John with the Leaden Sword, advanced to meet the enemy, and sent a herald to inform the Scottish earl he was coming to drink wine and revel with him. The Earl of Douglas returned for answer, he should be most welcome, and that he had come from Scotland to France on purpose to carouse in his company. Under these terms a challenge to combat was understood to be given and accepted. Douglas, desirous to draw up his forces on advantageous ground, proposed to halt, and to await the English attack on the spot where the herald found him. The Viscount of Narbonne, the French general, insisted on advancing: the Scots were compelled to follow their allies, and came into battle out of breath and out of order. The consequences were most calamitous; Douglas and Buchan fell, and with them most of their countrymen of rank and quality, so that the auxiliary army of Scots might be considered as almost annihilated. The corps of Scots, long maintained as the French king's bodyguard, is said to have been originally composed of the relics of the field of Verneuil. And thus concluded the wars of the Scots in France, fortunate that the nation was cured, though by a most bitter remedy, of the fatal rage of selling their swords and their blood as mercenaries in foreign service; a practice which drains a people of the best and bravest, who ought to reserve their courage for its defence, and converts them into common gladiators, whose purchased valor is without fame to themselves or advantage to their country. Individuals frequently continued to join the French standard, in quest of fame or preferment; but, after the battle of Verneuil, no considerable army or body of troops from Scotland was sent over to France.

We return, after this digression, to consider the condition of Scotland, now more hopeful than it had been for a length of time, since she was about to exchange the rule of a slothful, timid, and inefficient regent for that of a king in the flower of his age, and possessed of a natural disposition and

cultivated talents equally capable to grace and to guard the throne.

The terms on which the treaty for the freedom of James I. was at last fixed were, on the whole, liberal rather than otherwise. The English demanded, and the Scots agreed to pay, forty thousand pounds sterling—not as *ransom*, as the use of that obnoxious phrase could not apply to the case of an innocent boy taken without defence in time of truce, but to defray what was delicately termed the expenses of Prince James's support and education. Six years were allowed for the discharge of the sum by half-yearly payments. It was a part of the contract that the Scottish king should marry an English lady of rank; and his choice fell upon Joanna, niece of Richard II. by the mother's side, and by her father, John, duke of Somerset, the granddaughter of the Duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt. To this young lady, so nearly connected with the English royal family, the Scottish captive had been attached for some time, and had celebrated her charms in poetry of no mean order, although defaced by the rudeness of the obsolete language. They were married in London; and a discharge for ten thousand pounds, the fourth part of the stipulated ransom, was presented to the Scottish king, as the dowry or portion of his bride. The royal pair were then sent down to Scotland with all respect and dignity, and Murdach, the late regent, had the honor to induct his royal cousin into the throne of his forefathers.

The natural talents of James I., both mental and corporeal, were of the highest quality; and if Henry IV. had taken an unjust and cruel advantage of the accident which threw the prince into his hands, by detaining him as a prisoner, he had made the only possible amends, by causing the most sedulous attention to be paid to his education. In person, the king of Scotland was of low stature; but so strongly and compactly built as to excel in the games of chivalry, and all the active accomplishments of the time. He was no less distinguished by mental gifts, highly cultivated by the best

teachers that England could produce. He was, according to the learning of the day, an accomplished scholar, an excellent poet, a musician of skill, intimately acquainted with the science as practiced in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, which are described as being then the principal seats of national music,[1] with a decided taste for the fine arts of architecture, painting, and horticulture. Nothing, therefore, could be more favorable than his personal character. As a prince, his education in England had taught him political views which he could hardly have learned in his own rude and ignorant realm. His ardent thirst of knowledge made the acquisition of every species of art fit to be learned by persons of his condition not only tolerable, however laborious, but a source of actual pleasure. He found Scotland in the utmost disorder, and divided among a set of haughty barons, whom the wars of David II.'s reign, the feebleness of those of his two successors, and the culpable indulgence of two regencies, had rendered almost independent of the crown. To curb and subdue this stern aristocracy, and to secure general good order, by re-establishing the legitimate authority of the crown, was a difficult and most dangerous task; but James embarked and persevered in it with a courage which amounted almost to rashness.

Among various laws for the equal administration of justice, for obliging the nobility to ride with retinues no larger than they could maintain, for discontinuing the oppressive exaction of free quarters, and for requiring that the Scottish youth should be trained to archery, there were two measures adopted by James which were highly unpopular. The first was an inquiry into the extent of the crown lands under the last three monarchs. The object of this was to examine into the dilapidation made of the crown property, during the reigns of Robert II. and III., and the two regencies of the

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[1] The Irish were said to excel in two instruments, the harp and the tabor; the Scottish in three, the harp, the tabor, and the *chorus* (*i.e.*, the *cor* or horn); the Welsh also delighted in three kinds of music, that of the pipes, the harp, and the chorus or horn.

House of Albany. But by these preparations to reassert the right of the king to the lands which had been alienated by weak monarchs and unfaithful viceroys, James excited among the people at large doubts and jealousies concerning the stability of property, which gave rise to general dissatisfaction. With these was combined the imposition of a large subsidy for raising the sum due to England by the late treaty, of which it is only necessary to say that it was a tax, and was therefore unpopular; and the more so, as it fell on a poor country.

The records of this reign being almost entirely lost, we do not know by what means further than his own consciousness of talents, and the command over others which such consciousness necessarily inspires, the young king was able to enforce his authority in a kingdom where a large party were leagued together by mutual interest, to support the usurpations which had been made on the crown during the space of more than twenty years, in which time wrongful encroachment had attained by prescription the appearance of lawful right. We are only aware that James had not been on the throne a full year ere he began to visit on the House of Albany the wrongs he had sustained during his long imprisonment, protracted through their means, and the dilapidation and usurpation exercised by them, their favorites and allies, over the rights and possessions of the crown.

Walter, the son of Duke Murdach, whose brutal insolence to his father had suggested to the old man the idea of bringing home the lawful heir, or at least had decided him to adopt that measure so much fraught with hazard to his family, was laid under arrest shortly after the king's return. The Earl of Lennox, father-in-law to Duke Murdach, and Sir Robert Grahame, a man of peculiarly fierce and daring temper, were next made prisoners. But on the 12th March, 1425, the king found himself, by whatever means, powerful enough to arrest, during the sitting of a parliament at Perth, Murdach, the late regent, his second son Alexander, the

Earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, with twenty other persons of the highest rank, among whom are the formidable names of Alexander Lyndsay of Glenesk, Hepburn of Hales, Hay of Yester, Walter Halyburton, Walter Ogilvy, Stewart of Rosyth, Alexander of Seton-Gordon, Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, John the Red Stewart of Dundonald, David Murray of Gask, Hay of Errol, constable of Scotland, Scrimgeour, the constable of Dundee, Irving of Drum, Herbert Maxwell of Carlaverock, Herbert Herries of Terreagles, Gray of Foulis, Cunninghame of Kilmauris, Ramsay of Dalwolsey, Crichton of Crichton.

In perusing this list of ancient and powerful names, we are alike surprised to see so many barons, whose estates and interests lay separated over various parts of Scotland, involved in the same general accusation, and at the courage of the sovereign, who dared to apply the rigor of law to such a number of his powerful subjects at the same time. The prisoners were probably selected as the principal allies of the Albany family, or perhaps as those who, having shared most deeply in the spoils distributed during the regencies, might be most tempted to defend its usurpations. The specific charge against the imprisoned barons was probably their having evaded compliance with the royal command to exhibit their titles to their lands. But, though so many were included, it was at the family of Albany only that vengeance was aimed. The blow was struck so suddenly that the only one of the devoted family who had time to take precaution for his safety, or offer resistance, was James Stewart, the youngest son of Duke Murdach. He made his escape to the west of Scotland, returned by a sudden incursion, burned Dumbarton, and slew the king's uncle, the Red Stewart of Dundonald; but, closely pressed by the king's command, was obliged to fly to Ireland.

Murdach and his two sons, with their grandfather by the mother's side, the Earl of Lennox, were brought to trial under cognizance of an assize or jury of nobles, in which the allies and supporters of the king were mingled with the

favorers and allies of the House of Albany in such a proportion as to give an appearance of impartiality to the trial, though the party of royalists was undoubtedly adequate to command the verdict, which, in Scotland, is decided by a majority of voices.

The nature of the charge brought against these high-descended and late powerful persons is unknown. There could be no want of instances in which the usurpation of the prisoners had amounted to acts of high treason. The king himself was present at the trial, with the royal emblems of dignity. The fatal verdict of guilty was pronounced against them all, and they were executed on the castle hill at Stirling, upon the little artificial mound called Hurley Hacket. From this elevated position, Duke Murdach might cast his last look upon the fertile and romantic territory of Monteith, which formed part of his family estate, and distinguish in the distance the stately castle of Doune, which emulated the magnificence of palaces, and had been his own viceregal residence. Among the multitude who beheld this melancholy spectacle, a sense of the mutability of human affairs, and the interest naturally due to fallen greatness, drowned recollection of the noble criminals' faults in sympathy for their misfortunes. Duke Robert, the great offender of the House of Albany, had been summoned long before to a higher tribunal; and the imbecility of Duke Murdach, who only inherited at most, and in fact renounced the usurpations of his father, attracted commiseration rather than abhorrence. The goodly persons of his two sons drowned in the minds of the vulgar recollection of their vices and follies; and from the venerable appearance of the Earl of Lennox, a man in his eightieth year, he seemed too near the grave already to be precipitated into it by the hand of the executioner. The purpose of the king seems, in fact, to have failed in a great measure. He meant to strike a wholesome terror; but the punishment of so many nobles, his own nearest relations, excited in some bosoms hatred against the vindictive spirit by which it seemed to be dictated, and, in general,

a sense that such a severe animadversion upon crimes long past savored too much of rigor to be true policy. These unfavorable feelings were exaggerated in the eyes of such as conceived that the monarch had the selfish prospect of repairing the royal revenue by the forfeiture of the estates of these wealthy criminals.

Perhaps, like many reformers, this excellent prince, for such he must certainly be esteemed, fell into an error common to those who, seeing acutely the extent of a rooted evil, attempt too hastily and too violently to remedy it by instant eradication. It is in the political world as in the human frame; dislocations which have been of long standing, and to which the neighboring parts of the system have accommodated themselves, cannot be brought back to their proper state without time, patience, and gentleness. It is true, the long course of license permitted by the loose government of the House of Albany had subjected many hundreds, nay, thousands of individuals to the penalties of the law; but it cannot escape notice that, while a few severe examples are in such a case necessary for the purpose of impressing a respect for justice, the extending capital punishments to a large circle disgusts the public mind, assumes the form of vengeance rather than legal severity, and procures for malefactors an interest in their fate capable of altogether destroying the great purpose of punishment, by causing men to hate instead of respecting its motives. If, as historians affirm, James I. actually adjudged to death, within the first two years of his reign, to the number of three thousand of his subjects, for offences committed during his imprisonment in England, he certainly merited that the reproof used by Mecænas to Augustus—"surge tandem carnifex"—ought to have interrupted his judicial butchery.

James I. might be more easily justified in teaching, even by strict examples of severity, the respect due to the royal person, the source of law and justice, which had fallen into contempt during the feeble regency of Duke Murdach, than in prosecution of acts of treason committed when there was

no king in the land. We have the following instance of his strictness on such occasions: A nobleman of high rank, and nearly related to the crown, forgot himself so far as to strike a youth within the king's hall. James commanded that the hand with which the offence had been given should on the instant be extended on the council-table, and the young man who had received the blow was ordered to stand by with the edge of a large knife applied to the wrist of the offender, ready to sever it upon a signal given. In this posture the culprit remained for more than an hour in agonizing expectation of the blow being struck, while the queen and her ladies, the prelates, and the clergy, prostrated themselves on the floor, imploring mercy for the criminal. The king at length dispensed with the punishment, but banished the offender for some time from his court and presence.

In 1427, besides repressing the general habits of violence and devastation in the Lowlands of Scotland, James had also to reduce to his obedience the Highland chiefs, who during the impunity of the last regency had thrown off all respect to the mandates of the crown, forgotten the terrors of the Harlaw, and might be considered as having returned to their pristine independence and barbarism. The king, with a view to remedy these evils, built or repaired the strong tower of Inverness, at which place he held a parliament. Alexander, the lord of the Isles, and his mother, the Countess of Ross, with almost all the Highland chiefs, many of whom could carry into the field at least two thousand men, attended upon this assembly. The king invited them separately to visit his castle, where he had nearly fifty of them placed in arrest at the same moment; James in the meanwhile applauding his own dexterity in an extempore verse, of which the Latin only survives.[1] Two leaders of tribes,

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[1] Ad turrim fortem ducamus caute cohortem;
Per Christi sortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.

Which may be thus translated:

To donjon tower let this rude troop be driven;
For death they merit, by the cross of heaven.

Alexander M'Reury de Garmoran and John M'Arthur, as more powerful, or more insolent, or more guilty than the others, were beheaded for acts of robbery and oppression; and to render his justice impartial, James Campbell was hanged for the murder of John, a former lord of the Isles.

In the midst of these examples of punishment, James was clement in his treatment of Alexander of the Isles, the successor of Donald, who was worsted at the Harlaw, and only remonstrating with him upon the necessity of his discontinuing his family habits of lawless turbulence, he dismissed him upon his promise to abstain from such in future. His mother was detained as a hostage for his faith. Alexander, however, no sooner returned to his own territories than he raised his banner, and collected a host from the Isles and Highland mainland to the amount of ten thousand men, with which he invaded the continent, and burned the town of Inverness, where he had lately sustained the affront of an arrest. King James assembled an army and hastened northward, where his prompt arrival alarmed the invaders. Two powerful tribes, the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, deserted the lord of the Isles, and ranged themselves under the royal banner. Weakened and dispirited, the Highland forces sustained a severe defeat, and the lord of the Isles humbled himself to ask peace and forgiveness. It was not, however, granted till he had performed a feudal penance for his breach of allegiance. On the eve of St. Augustine's festival, he appeared in full congregation, before the high altar of Holyrood Church, at Edinburgh, attired only in his shirt and drawers, and there upon his knees presented the hilt of his naked sword to the king, he himself holding it by the point. In this attitude of submission the island chief humbly confessed his offences, and deprecated their deserved punishment. The capital penalty, which he had deservedly incurred, was exchanged for a long imprisonment in Tantallon Castle.

The captivity of the lord of the Isles did not prevent further disturbance from these unruly people.—Choosing

for chieftain Donald, called Ballach or the Freckled, the cousin-german of their imprisoned lord, who exercised his power during his captivity, the islanders again invaded Lochaber with an army of wild Catherans. Encountering the Earls of Mar and of Caithness, the Celtic chief totally defeated them with much slaughter. Donald therefore returned to the islands with victory. But the king making great preparations to revenge this invasion, the Highland chiefs who had been accessory to it became afraid of the royal power, to which the activity of James had given such additional respect, and not only submitted themselves to their sovereign, but offered him their services against Donald Ballach, whose overbearing insolence they alleged had been the cause of their error. Thus deserted by those who had been accessory to his crime, Donald Ballach was forced to fly to Ireland, where he was shortly after slain, to propitiate the Scottish king, and his head sent to the court of James.

James took other and less violent methods of confirming the right of the Scottish crown, by accommodating with the Norwegians, who had heavy claims for the long arrears of an annuity, stipulated to them in the treaty with Alexander III., as the consideration for ceding their right over the Hebrides, but which the continued misfortunes of Scotland had prevented from being regularly paid.

In another material point James I. prosecuted his plan of lowering the power of the nobility, and rendering them more dependent on the crown; and it is only by catching at such casual sources of information that we can form a fair estimate of the schemes which he had formed or the means by which he proposed to execute them. We have repeatedly seen the powerful Earls of March, who lay on the eastern frontiers of Scotland, renounce and return to the allegiance of that country at their pleasure; and render their castle of Dunbar at one time a rampart against the English, at another a place of refuge to the retreating monarchs of that kingdom. Whether the existing Earl of March had

been recently engaged in any of those unlawful and treasonable practices which had distinguished his family in former generations, or whether he was only guilty of possessing the power to be dangerous, we cannot well discern; but he was confined to the castle of Edinburgh as a prisoner, and his castle of Dunbar, being taken possession of by the king, was placed in the keeping of Adam Hepburn of Hales. The legal reasons assigned were, that the forfeiture of the earldom of March having been decreed, on account of the repeated treason of George, earl of March, the power of the regent Duke of Albany was insufficient to disjoin them from the crown, to which they had been united, and to confer them on the son of the traitor. It was not, however, the purpose of the king to act with rigor or injustice toward the present earl, even in depriving him of possessions which afforded him a power liable to be abused. He closed the transaction by instantly conferring on the late Earl of March the earldom of Buchan, which, by the death of the gallant high constable of France at the battle of Verneuil, already mentioned, had reverted to the crown. By this policy James hoped to convert a powerful family, from fickle and uncertain borderers, into more faithful inland vassals.

Almost all the proceedings of James I. were directed to the same general end—that of diminishing the power of the nobles, which occasioned the discords in the state, and the general oppression of the subjects, and proportionally augmenting and extending the influence of the crown. This comprehended, indeed, the selfish purpose of elevating the king himself to a more absolute superiority in the state; but as, in that stage of society, the royal authority was the best means by which the general peace and good order of the country at large could be preserved, James may be considered as having pursued his favorite object with humane and patriotic views, directed more to the benefit of Scotland than his own aggrandizement.

By an act of parliament prohibiting all bonds and leagues, by which the nobility used to bind themselves to take each

other's part against the rest of the community, or against the crown itself, and declaring that associations which had been made for such dangerous and unlawful purposes were not binding, James endeavored to deprive these petty princes of the power of uniting themselves together against his authority. Great pains were also taken to assure the regular distribution of government by the royal courts of justice, with the assurance that if there were any "poor creature" who, for want of skill and money, could not have his cause properly stated, a skilful advocate should be engaged for him at the expense of the crown.

Another law against leasing-making imposed the doom of death on the devisers of such falsehoods as were calculated to render the king's government odious to the people. The punishment, however severe, was not, perhaps, ill suited to that time, when there was so little communication between different parts of the country, and one province knew so little of what was happening in another that a rumor of any unpopular measure or oppressive act on the part of the crown might put a part of the kingdom into open rebellion before it could be refuted or explained. In after-times, the statute, being applied even to confidential communications between man and man, became the source of gross and iniquitous oppression.

In relation to foreign policy, James I. appears to have supported his place with dignity between the contending powers of France and England. Like his predecessors, he preferred the alliance of the former kingdom, as less tempted to abuse his confidence; and his friendship was thought of such importance that Charles of France was induced to cement it by choosing the bride of his son the dauphin, afterward Louis XI., in the person of Margaret, eldest daughter of the king of Scotland. The bridal took place in 1436, eight years after the contract. The honor which attended this match was great; but the bride's happiness was far from being secured in proportion. Though amiable and accomplished, she was neglected and contemned by her

husband, one of the most malignant men who ever lived. She was basely calumniated also and slandered by his unworthy courtiers, and appears to have felt the imputed ignominy so sensitively that the acuteness of her feelings at length cost the princess her life.

As the affairs of the English were declining in France, from the enthusiasm universally awakened by the appearance of the Maid of Orleans on the scene, an English ambassador was sent to Scotland, in the person of Lord Scroope, with instructions to gain James, if possible, from his French alliance. England proposed terms which had not been lately named in negotiation between the countries. The offers were a sure and perpetual peace, with the restitution to Scotland of the castle of Roxburgh, the town of Berwick, together with Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far southward as Rere Cross on Stanmoor. The Scottish historians say that the English were not sincere in these proposals. If they were, James could not have entertained them without a formal breach of his treaty with France. The clergy interfered to support this obstacle, with the important additional objection that the contract with France had obtained an irrefragable, and in some degree sacred, character, by its having received the sanction of the pope, and therefore could not be infringed without a high crime. In the course of the scholastic discussion which arose on the question, what effect the approbation of the Roman pontiff conferred on a contract solemnly entered into between two independent monarchs, the disputants lost sight of the English propositions, the most honorable which Scotland had received from her proud neighbor since the arms of Bruce extorted from her the treaty of Northampton, and the negotiation fell to the ground.

It may be easily conceived that the unwonted boldness with which James carried on his favorite measures—resuming grants made in favor of the most powerful nobles—altering at his will the seat of their power, as in the case of the Earl of March—interfering with and controlling their jurisdiction over their vassals—at times imprisoning the most

powerful of them, as he did the Earl of Douglas, his own nephew—and substituting the authority of the crown for that of the vassals, by whose greatness it had been eclipsed —was regarded with very different feelings by two classes of his subjects. With the great mass of the nation James was popular; for the people felt the protection arising from the power of the crown, which could seldom have any temptation to oppress those in middle life, and willingly took refuge under it to escape from the subordinate tyranny of the numerous barons, whose castles crowned every cliff, and for whose rapacity or violence no object was too inconsiderable. It was different with the nobility, who felt acutely that, as the king's importance arose in the national scale, their own was gradually sinking. They regarded the quantity of blood which had been shed by James's command less as a sacrifice to justice than as the means by which the sovereign indulged his rapacity after forfeitures, and what they alleged to be his vindictive hatred to the nobility. Many of the victims who had suffered the penalties of the law were related to honorable houses; and it was a point of honor, and almost of conscience, with their kindred, to watch for the opportunity to revenge their death. There was, therefore, a great party among the nobility who regarded James with fear and hatred, and who only wanted an opportunity to give deadly proof of the character of their feelings toward him.

The approach of war gave these evil sentiments an opportunity to display themselves. In 1435, Sir Robert Ogle, an English borderer of distinction, in breach of a truce which had continued uninterrupted since King James's accession to the Scottish throne, made an incursion on the borders, and did some mischief; but was encountered by the Earl of Angus near Piperden, defeated and made prisoner. In resentment of this violence, and of an attempt on the part of the English to intercept the Scottish Princess Margaret on her way to France, James declared war against England, 1436. He besieged Roxburgh Castle with the whole array of his kingdom, which was said to amount to a tumultuary

multitude of nearly two hundred thousand men. After remaining fifteen days before Roxburgh, the king suddenly raised the siege and dismissed his array, upon surmise, as has been supposed, of treason in his host. That there were such practices is highly probable; and a Scottish encampment, filled with feudal levies, each man under the banner of the noble to whom he owed service, was no safe residence for a monarch who was on bad terms with his aristocracy.

After dismissal of his army, James I. met his parliament at Edinburgh, and employed himself and them in making several regulations for commerce, and for the impartial administration of justice. In the meantime the period of this active and good prince's labors was speedily approaching.

The chief author of his fate was Sir Robert Grahame, uncle to the Earl of Strathern. James, with his usual view of unfixing and gradually undermining the high power of the nobility, resumed the Earldom of Strathern, and obliged the young earl to accept of the Earldom of Monteith in lieu of it. This seems to have irritated the haughty spirit of the earl's uncle, Sir Robert, who was likewise exasperated by having sustained a personal arrest and imprisonment, along with other men of rank, on the king's return in 1425. Entertaining these causes of personal dislike against his sovereign, Grahame, in the parliament of 1429, undertook to represent to the king the grievances of the nobility; but, instead of doing so with respect and moderation, this fierce and haughty man worked himself into such extremity of passion as to make offer to arrest the monarch in name of the estates of parliament. As no one dared to support him in an attempt so arrogant, Grahame was seized, and, finally, his possessions were declared forfeited, and he himself ordered into banishment.

He retired to the recesses of the Highlands, vowing revenge, and had the boldness to send forth from his lurking-place a written defiance, in which he renounced the king's allegiance, and declared himself his mortal enemy. On this new proof of audacity, a reward was offered to any one who

should bring in the person of Sir Robert Grahame, dead or alive. On this a conspiracy took place, the event of which was terrible, although we can but ill trace the motives of some of the party.

The ostensible head of the conspirators was the king's own uncle, Walter, earl of Athole, son of Robert III., by his second marriage. This ambitious old man was not prevented by his near alliance with the crown from plotting against his royal nephew's life, with the purpose of placing on the throne Sir Robert Stewart, his own grandson, who on his part, though favored by the king, and holding the confidential situation of chamberlain, did not hesitate to enter into so nefarious a conspiracy. The event proved that the conspirators had formed their plan for assassinating their prince with too much accuracy. But the hopes upon which Athole and his grandson founded the subsequent part of their plot seem to have been vague and uncertain to an extravagant degree, inducing us to believe, that, like other heated and fiery spirits in similar situations, those engaged in the bloody design must have worked themselves into the belief that the feelings of hatred toward James which animated their own bosoms were also nourished by the greater part of the community; a species of self-delusion common among men who engage in such desperate enterprises.

The removal of the court to Perth, where James proposed to hold his Christmas, facilitated the conspirators' enterprise, by making a sudden descent from the Highlands a short expedition. About the 21st of February, 1437, the king, after having entertained his treacherous uncle of Athole at supper, was about to retire to rest in the Dominican monastery, which was the royal residence for the time, when it was suddenly entered by a body of three hundred men, whose admittance had been facilitated by Sir Robert Stewart, the faithless chamberlain. There is a tradition that a young lady in attendance on the queen, named Katherine Douglas, endeavored to supply the want of a

bar to the door of the royal apartment by thrusting her own arm across the staples. This slender obstacle was soon overcome. So much time had, however, been gained, that the queen and her ladies had found means to let down the king into a vault beneath the apartment, from which he might have made his escape, had not an entrance from the sewer to the court of the monastery been built up by his own order a day or two before, because his balls, as he played at tennis, were lost by entering the vault. Still, notwithstanding this obstacle, the king might have escaped, for the assassins left the apartment without finding out his place of retreat, and, having in their brutal fury wounded the queen, dispersed to seek for James in the other chambers. Unhappily, before either the conspirators had withdrawn from the palace, or assistance had arrived, the king endeavored, by the help of the ladies, to escape from the vault, and some of the villains returning, detected him in the attempt. Two brothers, named Hall, then descending into the vault, fell fiercely upon James with their daggers; when, young, active, and fighting for his life, the king threw them down, and trod them under foot. But while he was struggling with the traitors, and cutting his hands in an attempt to wrench their daggers from them, the principal conspirator, Grahame, came to the assistance of his associates, and the king died by many wounds. Thus fell James I., a prince of distinguished talents and virtue, too deep in political speculation, perhaps, for the period in which he lived, too hasty and eager in carrying his meditated reformation into execution, and too rigorous in punishing crimes which were rather the fruit of tempting opportunity, and of the general license of a disordorly period, than the deliberate offspring of individual guilt.

The alarm was given at last, and the attendants of the court and domestics began to gather to the palace, from which the assassins made their escape to the Highlands, not without loss.

The Queen Joanna urged the pursuit of the murderers

with a zeal becoming the widow of such a husband. She had enjoyed her husband's political confidence as well as his domestic affection. In the parliament of 1435 the king, impressed, perhaps, with a presentiment that his public-spirited measures might expose him to assassination, caused the members of the estates to give written assurances of their fidelity to the queen. Upon this trying occasion they redeemed their pledge, and a close and general pursuit after the murderers took place. In the space of a month they were all apprehended in their various lurking-places. Athole's grandson, Sir Robert Stewart, was executed at Edinburgh with refined tortures, in the midst of which he avowed his guilt. The aged earl admitted that his grandson had proposed such a conspiracy to him; but alleged that he did his utmost to dissuade him from engaging in it, and believed that the idea was laid aside. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, and his head, being surrounded with a crown of iron, was exposed to public view. The principal conspirator, Sir Robert Grahame, whose mind had devised, and whose hand executed the bloody deed, boldly contended that he had a right to act as he had done. The king, he said, had inflicted on him a mortal injury; and he, in return, had renounced his allegiance, and sent him a formal letter of defiance. Dreadful tortures were inflicted on the regicide, which served but to show how much extremity a hardy spirit is capable to endure. He told the court, that, though now executed as a traitor, he should be hereafter recollected as the man who had freed Scotland from a tyrant. But the evil spirit which had seduced him, and seemed to speak by his mouth, proved a false prophet: the immortality which his memory obtained was only conferred by a popular rhyme, to this effect:

> Robert Grahame,
> That kill'd our king, God give him shame.

James I. had two sons; but one dying in infancy, he left behind him only James II., who in his childhood succeeded

to his father's throne. The late king had five daughters, who were married, four of them into noble families abroad, while the youngest was wedded to the Earl of Angus.

Among the transactions of this reign, we ought not to omit to mention the fate of two heretics. The first was a Wickliffite, called John Resby, already mentioned as executed under the regency of Albany. James I. himself is culpable for having permitted the death of Paul Crawar, a foreigner, and a follower of John of Huss. He was tried by Lawrence of Lindores, the same bigoted inquisitor who sat in judgment on Resby, whose fate this second martyr shared, at Saint Andrew's, 1435. These instances prove that Scotland did not escape the ravages of intolerant superstition, though her history stands more free of such shocking cruelties than that of nations more important and more early civilized than herself.

CHAPTER XIX

Struggle between the Nobles and the Crown—Elevation of Crichton and Livingston to the Government—Their Dissensions—Crichton possesses himself of the King's Person; but by a Stratagem of the Queen he is conveyed to Stirling—Crichton is besieged in Edinburgh Castle; reconciles himself with Livingston; quarrels once more with him; and again obtains the Custody of the King's Person—A second Reconciliation—Power of the Douglas Family—Trial and Execution of the young Earl of Douglas and his Brother—Highland Feuds—Douglas gains the Ascendency in the King's Councils—Fall of the Livingstons—Feud of the Earl of Crawford and the Ogilvies—Death of the Queen-Dowager—War with England—Battle of Sark—Marriage of James—His Quarrel with Douglas: he puts him to Death with his own Hand—Great Civil War—The Douglas Family is destroyed—War with England—Siege of Roxburgh Castle, and Death of James II.

IN the reign of James I. a struggle had commenced of a nature hitherto unknown to Scotland. The dissensions by which the kingdom had previously been disturbed or divided had either been caused by hostile invasion or the insurrection of ill-subdued and ill-governed provinces, the inhabitants of which, to resent supposed wrongs and indulge their love of war and plunder, disturbed the internal peace of the country. But in the reign of this monarch we for the first time recognize a distinct struggle for power between the king on the one hand and the great nobility on the other; and from that time downward we can trace the progress of a constant and sometimes a bloody contest between the monarch, who desired to increase his power, and the great aristocratic nobles, who were determined to retain that powerful influence in the state which they had secured by frequent wars, in which their arms were necessary, and

their license could not be restrained, and by the long intervals of minority, when the regal power was peculiarly liable to invasion. The mass of the common people, termed in France the *tiers état*, and in Britain the commons of the realm, had not yet arisen to that consequence in Scotland which the same order had attained in the commercial countries of Flanders, France, and England. The towns were poor, and the merchants ruined by constant wars and the oppressions of the neighboring barons. What power they had, however, in the national councils they lent to the support of the king's prerogative, which was a species of refuge to them from the subaltern oppression of a multitude of petty tyrants, who assumed the right because they possessed the power to tyrannize over them.

The late monarch, James I., in consequence of his standing in opposition to the aristocracy, was induced to select his officers, ministers, and counsellors, not from the haughty nobles who rivalled his power, but from the lower class of barons or private gentlemen. Among them, accordingly, James I. selected several individuals of talent, application, and knowledge of business, and employed their counsels and abilities in the service of the state, without regard to the displeasure of the great nobles, who considered every office near the king's person as their own peculiar and patrimonial right, and who had in many instances converted such employments into subjects of hereditary transmission.

Among the able men whom James I. called in this manner from comparative obscurity, the names of two statesmen appear, whom he had selected from the rank of the gentry, and raised to a high place in his councils. These were Sir William Crichton the chancellor, and Sir Alexander Livingston of Calender. Both were men of ancient family, though, descended probably of Saxon parentage, they did not number among the greater nobles, who claimed, generally speaking, their birth from the Norman blood. Both, and more especially Crichton, had talents of a distinguished order, and were well qualified to serve the state. Unhappily, these

two statesmen, upon whom either the will of the late king, or the ordinance of a parliament called at Edinburgh immediately after James's murder, devolved the power of a joint regency, were enemies to each other, probably from ancient rivalry; and it was still more unfortunate that their talents were not united with corresponding virtues; for Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alike ambitious, cruel, and unscrupulous politicians. It is said by the Scots chroniclers that the parliament assigned to Crichton the chancellor the administration of the kingdom, and to Livingston the care of the person of the young king.

It might have been supposed that the widowed queen Joanna had some title to be comprised in the commission of regency, and there are indications that such had been the purpose of her husband. But alone, an English stranger, and a woman, after prosecuting the murderers of her husband to the death, she seems to have withdrawn herself from public affairs; and shortly afterward married a man of rank, Sir James Stewart, who was called the Black Knight of Lorn—a union which, placing herself under tutelage, disqualified her from the office of regent, whether in her sole person or as an associate of Crichton and Livingston. About the same time (1438), a nine years' truce with England put an end to the war which subsisted at the death of James I., and left the Scottish rulers at liberty to follow out without interruption their domestic dissensions.

These were of a numerous and complicated nature. Crichton and Livingston, who had been preferred by the king's favor from a moderate station among the gentry to be rulers of the state, were sufficiently well disposed to prosecute the system under which they had themselves risen to power, providing they could have agreed upon the share of the administration which each of them was to hold. But they had a powerful opponent in the dreaded Earl of Douglas, a family whom we have often mentioned as supporting their native princes and defending the honor of their country, but whom we must now record as placing by their ambition both

the one and the other in extreme danger. Crichton and Livingston were obliged to admit this mighty peer into the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. It does not appear that he was disposed to abuse his trust; but it is evident that Crichton and Livingston, particularly the former, regarded the power of Douglas with suspicion and fear.

This cause of alarm, common to them both, did not suppress their mutual hatred to each other. A series of manœuvres, disgraceful when the situation of the parties is considered, and tending to destroy the government in which they held such a principal share, were played off between the chancellor and governor of Scotland, with the rapidity displayed by rival jugglers in the exercise of their legerdemain. A minute account of enterprises which historians have left in great obscurity may be here slightly excused; but the following facts are prominent.

Sir William Crichton had possession of the castle of Edinburgh, in which strong fortress he detained the person of the infant king, although the governor Livingston had a just title to the custody of his royal pupil. The queen-dowager privately favored Livingston's cause: and as she was permitted to visit the castle at all times, she contrived to convey the child out of that fortress, by enclosing him in a coffer supposed to contain a part of her wardrobe. Setting sail from Leith, she removed the prince by water to Stirling, where Livingston lay in garrison, by whom she was gladly received. Assembling there such nobles and barons as adhered to him, Livingston proposed to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen offered from her own store-houses to supply the soldiers with food. The castle was beleaguered accordingly. Crichton, thus severely threatened, applied himself in his necessity to the Earl of Douglas, offering his constant friendship and assistance, on condition of the earl's standing his friend at this crisis. The earl scarce heard the message to an end, answering with a furious look and gesture, "It is but small harm, methinks, although such mis-

chievous traitors as Crichton and Livingston move war against each other; and it would ill become any of the ancient race of nobles to interfere to prevent their utter wreck and destruction. As for myself, nothing is more pleasing than to hear of their discord; and I hope I shall live to see the mischief they deserve condignly overwhelm both."

The siege by this time was laid around the castle of Edinburgh, when Crichton, having received this scornful answer from the Earl of Douglas, asked an interview with his enemy Livingston, to whom he communicated the earl's reply as indicating no less hostility to the governor than to himself, and proposed that they should forget their private enmity, and unite to protect themselves against Douglas as their common enemy. At the same time, upon an understanding that he should receive honorable treatment, Crichton declared himself ready to yield up the castle to the governor. Livingston, after consulting his friends, accepted of Crichton's submission, confirmed him in his office of chancellor, and restored the castle of Edinburgh to his charge; and a course of friendship and amity seems for a short interval to have taken place between the two rival statesmen. This state of concord did not long last; for Crichton found means to obtain vengeance both of the queen and of his rival Livingston. Under pretence that Joanna favored the faction of the Douglases, Livingston had the audacity to arrest the widow of his sovereign, with her second husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, and detain them for some time in custody. In so far the governor avenged on the queen the offence given to his rival Crichton. But he was himself circumvented by this audacious statesman. Crichton came in darkness with a party of horse to the park of Stirling, where, waiting until the young king came from the castle at daybreak to hunt with a small attendance, he suddenly accosted him, and easily prevailed on him to repair to Edinburgh.

Upon this new injury, the hatred between Crichton and

Livingston was about to revive with treble fury. The interference, however, of the prelates of Aberdeen and Murray again accomplished a seeming reconciliation. The two contending statesmen met in St. Giles's Church, and once more renewed their politic purpose of uniting their efforts to oppose the power of the aristocracy, and particularly that of the House of Douglas. It required, indeed, all the influence of both, and more than their talents, though these were considerable, to counterbalance the formidable weight of such a tremendous opponent. But these unprincipled statesmen were abundantly disposed to support their want of power or sagacity by fraud and circumvention.

At this time (1439) Archibald, the fifth earl of Douglas, died, and was succeeded by his son William, a boy of fourteen years old, upon whom descended the various estates and dignities of that powerful family. The duchy of Touraine and lordship of Longueville in France seemed to give him the consequence of a foreign prince. In Scotland he enjoyed the earldom of Douglas, the lordships of Galloway and Annandale, and a wide extent both of property and influence throughout all the southern frontier. Repeatedly intermarried with the royal family itself, this mighty house had also formed matrimonial alliances with many of the most distinguished Scottish families. By bonds of dependence, or man-rent, as they were called, almost all the principal gentry who lay in the neighborhood of the wide domains of Douglas had become followers of the earl's banner; and his power, as far as it could be immediately and directly exercised, was equal to that of the king, his opulence perhaps superior.

In 1440, Earl William, whose youth rendered him arrogant, made an imprudent display of the power which he possessed. His ordinary attendance consisted of a thousand horse, and he is said to have held *cours plenieres*, after the manner of parliaments, within his own jurisdictions, and to have dubbed knights with his own hand. The body of men who constantly attended on this young chief were many

of them such as found their subsistence by bloodshed and pillage, who were always ready to interpose the name of their patron as a defence against punishment. The instances of oppression performed by the earl's followers, and the contempt and insult with which they rejected the attempts of the ordinary distributors of justice to bring them to punishment, were carefully noted down and laid to the charge of the young Douglas, whom Crichton was determined to make responsible for the mass of injuries which were committed in his name and by his followers. Under pretext of cultivating an intimacy between the young king and the Earl of Douglas, whose years corresponded together, Earl William and his younger brother David were inveigled by the chancellor's flattery and fair speeches first to his castle of Crichton, near Edinburgh, and then to the metropolis itself, where the two noble guests were lodged in the castle. Here, while they expected to be regaled at the royal table, a black bull's head, the signal of death, as it is reputed to have been in Scotland, was suddenly placed before them.[1] The astonished youths were dragged from the table by armed men, and subjected to a hasty trial. What crimes they were accused of is not known; but the extent of their power and the lawless character of their followers must have afforded enough of pretexts for condemnation, when the sentence rested with judges who were determined to make no allowance for the youth and inexperience of the accused parties, for the artifices by which they had been brought within the danger of the law, and for their being totally deprived of constitutional or legal defenders. The youthful earl and his brother were dragged from the mock judgment-seat to the castle yard, where, in spite of the entreaties and prayers of the young king, they were cruelly beheaded. Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, a friend and adherent of their family, shared the fate of the unfortunate boys.

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[1] This circumstance staggers the belief of modern historians. The bull's head, used as the sign of death, is repeatedly mentioned in Highland tradition, and the custom may have been Celtic.

The whole might be well pronounced a murder committed with the sword of justice.

Unquestionably Livingston and Crichton, the authors of this detestable treason, reckoned on its effects in depressing the House of Douglas, and producing general quiet and good order, the rather upon two accounts: the first was that a large part of the unentailed property, in particular the estates of Galloway, Wigton, Balveny, Ormond, and Annandale, were severed from the inheritance which was to descend on the new Earl of Douglas, and went to Margaret, the sister of the Earl William who was beheaded in the castle, who was thence commonly called the Fair Maiden of Galloway. Another encouragement to the crime was the indolent and pacific disposition of James, called the Gross, the uncle of the murdered earl. This corpulent dignitary, whose fat is said to have weighed four stone, seems accordingly to have taken no measures whatever for avenging the death of his relatives; on which account the historian of the Douglas family expresses his opinion that Earl James's obesity had invested him with a dulness of spirit inconsistent with the quick feeling of honor that should have stimulated him to a bold revenge.

But the state took as little benefit from the division of the Douglas estates as from the peaceful temper of James the Gross. A marriage, hastily effected, between William, son and heir of James the Gross, and his cousin-german, Margaret the Fair Maid of Galloway, restored the whole of her immense possessions to the male heir of the House of Douglas: and James the Gross, being removed by death within two years after the murder at Edinburgh Castle, was succeeded by the same William, a youth in the flower of his age, of as ardent ambition as any of his towering house, and filled with hatred against Crichton and Livingston for their share in his kinsmen's death. Thus did the power of Douglas revive in its most dangerous form, within two years after the tragic execution in the castle of Edinburgh; and the political crime of Crichton and Livingston

was, like many of the same dark complexion, committed in vain.

If we look at Scotland generally during this minority, it forms a dark and disgusting spectacle. Feudal animosities were revived in all corners of the country; and the barriers of the law having been in a great measure removed, the land was drenched with the blood of its inhabitants, shed by their countrymen and neighbors. In 1442 John Colquhoun, lord of Luss, was cut off, with many of his followers, by a party of Highlanders. In the subsequent year, the sheriff of Perth, Sir William Ruthven, having arrested a Highland thief, and being in the act of leading him to execution, a rescue was attempted by a body of Athole mountaineers, headed by a chief named John Gorme, or Gormac.[1] The assailants were, however, defeated, and their leaders slain.

In the midst of universal complaint, bloodshed, and confusion, the king was approaching his fourteenth year (1444). He was easily persuaded, or brought to persuade himself, that he could govern more effectively without the control of Crichton and Livingston, while the greater part of his subjects were at least satisfied that he could not rule worse than with the assistance of such unscrupulous counsellors. This produced a desire on the part both of the king and his subjects to dissolve the regency; and the Earl of Douglas, trusting to find his own advantage, and the means of prosecuting his revenge against Crichton and Livingston, with more art than his house had usually manifested, resolved to make personal advances to gain the king's favor, and prosecute his course to power rather as an ally and minister of the throne than the avowed rival and antagonist of the royal family.

There was an occasion shortly offered which afforded Douglas a graceful opportunity of approaching the king's person with offers of service and protestations of fidelity. Sir

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[1] The Blue; so called, perhaps, from the color of his dress.

Robert Semple, sheriff-depute to the Lord Erskine, was in the important charge of Dumbarton Castle, while the upper bailie of the same fort was intrusted to Patrick Galbraith, a vassal of the Earl of Douglas. For some unknown cause of suspicion, Semple deprived Galbraith of his charge, and ordered him to begone from the castle. Galbraith seemed to obey; but introducing a few men, under pretence of removing his furniture and household stuff, he suddenly attacked Sir Robert Semple, and expelled, or, as other authorities say, slew him, and seized the whole fortress into his own possession.

The Earl of Douglas assumed an appearance of great concern, as if Galbraith's dependence upon him might occasion this affair to be made a handle against him by his enemies. He therefore came to court, submitted himself to the king's will, placed his person in the royal power without reserve, and personated so well the expressions and behavior of a good subject, that James was delighted to find in the Earl of Douglas, who had been represented as a formidable rival, a vassal so powerful at once and so humble. The king received him not into favor only, but into confidential trust and power, and with the assistance received from him easily succeeded in assuming the supreme authority into his own hands, and in displacing Livingston and Crichton, who had governed in James's name since his father's death.

In modern times, the dismission of a ministry whose government has lasted long and assumed an absolute character, is usually followed by inquiries and impeachments: in the more ancient days, the ministers were called to account for their power by the terrors of a civil war. But the late chancellor and governor were, as the age required, soldiers as well as statesmen. Livingston shut himself up in the castle of Stirling, and determined on resistance; the chancellor also garrisoned his castles, and stood upon his defence. Douglas, armed with the royal authority, marched against the baronial castles of Crichton and of Barnton, both belonging to the late chancellor. These fortresses were held out against the Douglas's banner for several days, but surrendered when that of

the king was displayed before them. Douglas caused them to be dismantled.

But the far more important castle of Edinburgh was stoutly defended by Sir William Crichton in person: nor did he refrain from offensive measures; for, in revenge of the mischief done by Douglas to his lands, he made sallies out of the castle with force sufficient to destroy the lands of Abercorn and Strabrock, belonging to the earl. He continued to hold out the castle of Edinburgh for nine weeks, and at last surrendered it (1446) on the most advantageous terms. He was confirmed in his honors, titles and possessions; even his office of chancellor was restored to him. He seems to have formed an alliance with the Earl of Douglas, and consented to take a share in his administration, surrendering at the same time to the earl's resentment Sir Alexander Livingston, the king's governor.

This latter statesman was arrested, with many of his friends; and though his own gray hairs were spared, their ransom was dearly purchased by the decapitation of his two sons and the destruction of his family. He himself was imprisoned, and with his kinsmen, Dundas, Bruce, and others, subjected to ruinous fines and penalties.

The Earl of Douglas now attained the high dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and having the universal management of state affairs, failed not to use his influence for the advancement of the over-swollen importance of his house. Three of his brothers were created peers. Archibald, by marrying with the heiress of the Earl of Moray, succeeded to that title and estate; Hugh Douglas was made earl of Ormond; and John, lord of Balveny.

Meantime the public tranquillity went to wreck on all hands; and one feud is distinguished by our historians from the rest, on account of the number and consequence of the parties engaged on both sides. The powerful Earl of Crawford, by countenance and aid of the Livingstons, and by assistance of the family of Ogilvy, made an inroad on the property of the bishopric of St. Andrew's, then held by

James Kennedy, a near relation to the king. For this incursion, the bishop excommunicated the parties concerned on all the holidays of the year, with staff and mitre, book, bell, and candle. This, however, was but empty vengeance on men who made but slight account of his curses. In 1445, a more effectual amends ensued from a quarrel between the master of Crawford and Ogilvy of Inverquharity, the chief of that great name, about the bailiwick of Aberbrothock, which the abbot had taken from Crawford and bestowed upon Ogilvy. They assembled their forces on each side; and the parties having met near the gates of the town of Aberbrothock, were prepared to fight it out, headed by the master of Crawford on the one side and Inverquharity on the other. The Gordons, under the Earl of Huntley, arrived on the field of battle, took the part of the Ogilvies, and the battle was about to join. At this moment the Earl of Crawford rode forward between the two bodies, with the purpose of making terms. The master halted his forces at his father's command, and the earl was advancing toward the Ogilvies, when one of them, ignorant who he was, rode at him with his lance, threw him to the ground, and mortally wounded him. Both parties joined battle with mutual fury, and after a fierce conflict the Ogilvies were defeated, and their chief fell in the action, while his ally Huntley only escaped by flight. It gives an idea of the fury of this domestic feud, when we read that in this battle of Aberbrothock five hundred of the vanquished were slain on the field. The Earl of Crawford did not long survive this bloody field of private vengeance; and his body lay for a considerable time above ground, on account of the sentence of excommunication.

In the midst of this almost universal turmoil, we may notice the death of Joanna, the queen-mother, who hardly obtained permission to die in safety in the castle of Dunbar, that of Hales being stormed and taken for having afforded her temporary refuge. Her husband, the Black Knight of Lorn, having uttered some words reflecting on the administration of the Earl of Douglas, saw himself compelled to

leave Scotland. His misfortunes continued to attend him; the bark in which he sailed for France was taken by a Flemish corsair, and he died shortly after, in a species of captivity.

In the meantime, the Earl of Douglas, who possessed the warlike character of his ancestors, defended the country against its external enemies with better success than that with which he maintained domestic tranquillity. The borderers, partaking the spirit of the unsettled times, had broken through the truce by incursions on both sides; and the discordant administrations of Henry VI. and James II., who strongly resembled each other in point of cabal and internal dissension, found that the two countries were at war, even without either government intending it. On the one side, Dumfries was burned by young Percy and Robert Ogle; on the other, Lord Balveny, the youngest brother of Douglas, gave the town of Alnwick to the flames.

To make a deeper impression on the hostile country, the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Percy crossed the western marches with about fifteen thousand men. In 1448, they were met by Douglas at the head of a much inferior army, who either defeated or compelled them to retire. This foil only animated the English to a stronger effort. They assembled an army amounting to twenty thousand men. They crossed the river Sark at low water, and found themselves in front of the Scottish force, under command of Hugh, earl of Ormond, another brother of the Douglas family. Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, who seems to have been second in command of the Scottish army, behaved himself with distinguished bravery. He was mortally wounded in leading the Scottish right wing to a close conflict with the left of the English, which was commanded by Magnus Redman, governor of Berwick, in whose military skill the English placed great confidence. The Scots, encouraged by their dying leader, pressed furiously forward: Magnus Redman was slain in the melee, and the English gave way. The river Sark, now augmented by the returning tide, lay in the rear of the fugitive army: many were drowned in the

attempt to cross it. The English army lost three thousand men; and the young Lord Percy and Sir John Pennington were made prisoners.

The truce was shortly after (1449) again renewed by the English; and in the treaty on the occasion both parties disowned having been the cause of its being broken. About the same period, the interest of the Earl of Douglas at the Scottish court began to decline. It is easy to imagine various ways in which the actions of so overgrown a minister may have given offence to the king, who, being now about the age of eighteen, might perhaps be disposed to look upon the earl as a rival rather than a servant of the throne. Most kings prefer those favorites whose fortunes, however exorbitant, are nevertheless the work of their own hands; and the Douglas's power and splendor rested on hereditary honors and possessions which the king could neither give nor take away. The misrule of the kingdom also, and the numerous and bitter feuds into which it was divided, were universally said to be fostered and encouraged under the earl's influence; and it was alleged that when the worst of felons was arrested for the worst of crimes he might completely secure himself by alleging that he had done the deed at the command of a Douglas, or in revenge of a Douglas's quarrel.

Sir William Crichton also, who was so long and well acquainted with state affairs, began to recover the king's confidence; and his proved policy was employed in the honorable commission of renewing the old alliance with France, and seeking out upon the Continent a befitting match for the king. The election fell on Mary of Guelders, with whom Philip of Burgundy agreed to give sixty thousand crowns of gold as the portion of his kinswoman, who had been educated at his court. The alliance with France was renewed, and one with Burgundy was entered into. The success of Sir William Crichton in this negotiation, and the acceptable selection of his bride, raised the old statesman still higher in James's favor; and as he acquired the royal confidence, he had further opportunities of instilling into the sovereign's

mind the rules of policy on which his father James I. had acted, with a view of raising the power of the crown, and depressing the feudal greatness of the nobility. These instructions were necessarily unfavorable to Douglas.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh (1450), providing for the restoration of the progresses of the justiciary courts, which had been interrupted, and denouncing the penalties of rebellion against all persons who should presume to make private war on the king's subjects, declaring that the whole force of the country should be led against them if necessary. Severe laws were made against spoilers and marauders; and regulations laid down that the nobility should travel with moderate trains, to avoid oppressing the country. Finally, a statute was passed imposing the pains of treason on any who should aid or supply with help or counsel those who were traitors to the king's person, or who should garrison houses in their defence, or aid such rebels in the assault of castles or other places where the king's person should happen to be for the time. The tendency of these laws shows the predominant evils which had taken root during the king's minority, and the remedies by which, when come to man's estate, James II. proceeded to attempt a cure.

The Earl of Douglas, finding his court favor upon the wane, began to withdraw himself from the king's, and, in despite of the laws which had been so lately enacted, to play the independent prince in his own country, which comprehended all the borders and great part of the west of Scotland. An instance of his mode of acting occurred in a feud between Richard Colville of Ochiltree and John Auchinleck of Auchinleck. The former, having received some injuries from Auchinleck, watched an opportunity, while his enemy was journeying to wait upon the Earl of Douglas, whose follower he was, and on the road waylaid and slew him. Douglas, considering this violence as a personal insult to himself, undertaken perhaps in scorn of his diminished power, instantly beset Colville's castle with a body of men, took it by force, and put the lord and his garrison to the

sword (1449). This daring contempt of the public law, though colored over as the vengeance claimed by the memory of a worthy follower, was justly regarded at court as a daring insult to the royal authority, and so much resented by James that the earl judged it prudent for a time to absent himself, not only from the court, but from the country.

The Earl of Douglas, therefore, in 1450, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, which he performed magnificently, with a retinue of six knights, fourteen gentlemen, and eighty attendants of inferior rank. He was received at Paris with the honor due to his high family, and the memory of his ancestor who fell at Verneuil in the French service. Even at Rome the name of Douglas was respected, and the rude magnificence of the earl who bore it attracted attention and regard.

While Douglas was absent on his pilgrimage, his vassals continued to be disorderly and insubordinate as before. Symington, the earl's bailiff in Douglas Dale, was cited to answer for the conduct of such malefactors, but contumaciously refused to obey. Upon this, William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, then chancellor of Scotland, was sent to levy distress on the rents and goods of the Earl of Douglas, to satisfy those who complained of injury from his tenants. The chancellor's mission met with no success, for he was received only with resistance and insult. The king, incensed at this contumacy offered to the highest law-officer in the realm, marched in person into the disobedient districts, ravaged Douglas's estates, and took possession of the castles of Lochmabane and Douglas, the last of which he razed to the ground.

When the evil tidings reached Rome, they struck such alarm into the minds of Douglas's attendants that several relinquished their dependence on the earl and left him. He himself hastened homeward, and was so much affected by this instance of the king's energy and activity that he submitted himself to the royal authority, and was graciously received.

The services of the Earl of Douglas were used as one of the negotiators to adjust the continuation of the truce with England; but there is too much reason, from his visiting that country attended by his three brothers and the more distinguished followers of his house, that he even then meditated some intercourse of a secret and treasonable character. The English ministry, however, occupied by the internal commotions which soon after broke out in the dreadful civil war of York and Lancaster, received Douglas with distinction, but did not choose to become accessory to his intrigues.

Returning to his native country, the haughty earl attempted to clear his way to court favor by attacking and cutting off Sir William Crichton, his old rival and enemy, as he travelled from his castle of Crichton toward Edinburgh. An ambuscade of the Douglas followers beset the road, and broke out on the now aged chancellor with shouts and cries. But, encouraged by the presence of his son, a valiant young man, the old statesman stood to his weapon, and, after killing one and disabling another of the assailants, effected his retreat back to Crichton. The old man had borne the highest offices of the state too long to endure this wrong unrevenged: he gathered a strong body of friends and adherents, and marched to Edinburgh with such secrecy and despatch that he had nearly surprised Douglas, who lay there with a small retinue; and, despite his pride and power, the earl was compelled to fly from the metropolis in his turn.

Both parties, stimulated by mutual injuries and insults, seemed now prepared to combat to extremity. The Earl of Douglas retired altogether from the court; and that he might strengthen his cause, which he represented as that of the aristocracy in general, he entered into a private correspondence with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, the most powerful and independent Scottish nobles, after Douglas himself, and possessing the same power in the centre and north of Scotland which the earl exercised on the frontiers. He also used his influence upon such men of consequence as lived in those countries over which he had authority, to

compel them, though diametrically contrary to law, to execute leagues and bonds, by which they engaged themselves to support each other, and to make common cause with the Douglas against all mortals besides. Those who declined to comply with Douglas's pleasure in this matter were sure, more or less directly, to feel the force of his vengeance, which a wide authority over the border countries, filled with strong clans of habitual marauders, enabled him to accomplish, without the earl himself appearing active in the matter.

A remarkable instance of this occurred in the case of John Herries, a man of power in Nithsdale, who, having declined to engage as an ally and follower of the Douglas, in the manner required, beheld his lands plundered by a body of banditti from Douglas Dale. Having repeatedly applied to Douglas for satisfaction for this injury, Herries at length, consulting rather his spirit than his strength, endeavored to revenge the wrong by retaliation. But in an attempt to invade Annandale, he had the misfortune to be defeated and made prisoner by Douglas, who cast him into irons, and, despite the king's personal interposition in his behalf, by letter and message, caused him to be ignominiously hanged.

A case of even greater atrocity was that of the tutor or guardian of the young Laird of Bombie, called M'Lellan, who had, like the unfortunate Herries, declined to acknowledge the usurped authority of the Earl of Douglas, and became therefore obnoxious to his vengeance. This he was not long of feeling. In 1451, Douglas besieged the house or castle of the family, took the tutor of Bombie, as he was called, prisoner, and carried him to Douglas Castle, or, as others say, to that of the Thrieve in Galloway, and there threw him into close confinement. The unhappy prisoner was the nephew of Sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's bodyguard, an institution which we hear of for the first time in this reign, but which the complexion of the times, and the cruel murder of James I., had rendered but too necessary.

Anxious to avert the too probable fate of his relation, this officer, who was doubtless by his office especially familiar with the king, obtained from James II. letters to the Earl of Douglas, written in the most amicable tone of intercession, entreating rather than commanding that he would yield the captive in safety to Gray. The sudden appearance of the captain of the king's guard at his castle, joined with the recollection of Sir Patrick's connection with the tutor of Bombie, apprised Douglas how the case stood. He avoided immediately entering on business with Gray, until he had called for some refreshment; and while he pressed him to partake of the cheer, which, with an affectation of hospitality, was presently set before him, he caused the prisoner to be privately led out into the courtyard before the castle and there beheaded. Meanwhile, Sir Patrick Gray's meal being ended, the earl at last consented to open the king's letters, and seemed much gratified by their contents. "What the king requires of me," said he, "shall be granted as fully as circumstances admit." So saying, he led Sir Patrick to the place of execution, where the unfortunate tutor of Bombie's corpse still lay with a cloth spread over it. "Sir Patrick," said the earl, "you are come a little too late: yonder lies your sister's son; but he wants the head. You are at liberty to take his body, if you will." With a sad heart, Sir Patrick Gray replied, "My lord, since you have taken the head, you may dispose of the body at your pleasure." He then mounted his good horse, and, unable any longer to suppress his burning sense of the insult and injury with which he had been treated, he sternly said, "My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded according to your demerits for this day's work."[1] The earl, incensed at these words, instantly called to horse; and though Sir Patrick Gray rode off upon the spur so soon as he had uttered the threat, he was chased

[1] This circumstance renders it most probable that the castle of Douglas was the scene of this strange incident: that of the Thrieve being situated on an island, Sir Patrick Gray could not have escaped from it on horseback.

by the followers of the Douglas till near to Edinburgh, and would have been taken but for the excellence of his led horse.

It is probable that this piece of cruelty, accompanied with such a marked degree of contempt, not only to the laws but to the person of the king, filled up the cup of James's resentment against the Earl of Douglas. Still the extreme power which rendered this overgrown noble so presumptuous made it perilous for the king to enter into open war against him. It was therefore determined by Crichton and others, who shared in the king's more secret councils, that the king should affect an appearance of goodwill toward the earl, and invite him to court, with assurances that none of his past enormities should be inquired into, and that a reconciliation should be effected, on the footing of Douglas's forbearing such aggressions against the royal authority in future.

By what allurements the king and his counsellors were able to lull to rest the suspicions which Douglas, conscious of his own demerits, must have entertained of James's feelings toward one by whom he had been publicly insulted, we have no means of knowing. It appears that religion, too often employed as the most efficient mask of sinister designs, was not spared on the occasion; and that Sir William Crichton and Sir Patrick Gray had proposed to accompany Douglas and his brother James, with Lord Hamilton, his most powerful and faithful follower, upon a pilgrimage to Canterbury. Although a safe-conduct was granted by the English government for permitting this party of mingled royalists with Douglas and his followers to approach the shrine of Thomas à Becket, there was probably no intention that it should ever be made use of. The mutual pilgrimage was, in all likelihood, only proposed as one means of making evident the sincerity of Crichton and others, since the offer seemed to infer that these ministers of the king did not fear to accompany Douglas and his brother amid the various and doubtful incidents to which, in so long a journey, they must

have been exposed. Neither was it uncommon for ancient enemies to testify the reality of a reconciliation by performing acts of devotion in company.

The various hopes and inducements which were held out to Douglas, whatever was their precise character, were such as, joined with a spirit which set him above personal doubt or fear, induced the earl to visit the court in Lent, 1452. It was then held in Stirling Castle. But Douglas was not so confident in the sincerity of his recent reconciliation with the court as to venture himself within the king's power without an assurance of safety. He was accordingly furnished with letters from the principal persons at court, promising to be his warrant against any treachery, and, according to some authors, was also furnished with an ample safe-conduct under the great seal. His security thus provided for, the earl repaired to Stirling with his five brethren and a large band of his followers. Upon Shrove Tuesday he was honored with an invitation to sup with James in the castle, which he accepted without suspicion. Douglas was kindly received by the king, and the evening passed away in mirth and festivity. As they rose from the supper-table, about eight in the evening, the king led the earl apart into the recess of a deep window and began to expostulate with him on his late irregularities. No one was near them; but some of the privy-councillors and Sir Patrick Gray, with a few of the royal guards, were in the body of the apartment. At length in the course of his argument the king touched upon the bond or league in which Douglas had engaged with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, and earnestly urged him to renounce it as a confederacy inconsistent with his allegiance, dangerous to the state, and contrary to the express law of the realm. The earl haughtily replied that, his faith being once pledged to that bond as a solemn engagement, he could not with his honor renounce it, nor would he do so for the words of any living man. "By Heaven, then," said the king, his wrath being excited to the uttermost by the obstinate and disrespectful answer of the earl, "if you will not

break the confederacy, this shall." So saying, he drew his dagger and plunged it in Douglas's body. Sir Patrick Gray came to the assistance of the king, and, not unmindful of his vow of revenge, beat Douglas down with his battle-axe, and all the courtiers present attested their approbation of the deed, by striking their knives and daggers into the too powerful subject, who lay now a corpse at the feet of his sovereign.

The character of James II. suffered a great stain by the death of Douglas, slain by his own hand while the royal guest, under sanction of the public faith. But circumstances acquit the king of the premeditated guilt of the action, and show it to have been the furious explosion of a sudden gust of passion, which, if pardonable in any person, may plead some excuse in the case of a prince braved to the face by his subject. Indeed, what end could the king or his counsellors propose to themselves by taking the earl's life, when in the very town of Stirling, at the moment of the deed, he had five surviving brothers, men of undaunted courage and resolution, the eldest of whom must have succeeded, as in fact he did, to the full power of the slaughtered earl? Such a crime, therefore, could only be the means of instantly precipitating that dreadful struggle between the crown and the aristocracy which it was the interest of the court to delay till some more favorable opportunity, and which would certainly be most impoliticly commenced by an act carrying with it the disadvantage of exposing the king to a charge of perfidy or breach of faith. If, however, it is to be believed that the death of Douglas was a premeditated action, it is still certain that the manner in which it was perpetrated must have arisen out of accident, since there occur so many obvious reasons why other agency than that of the king himself should have been employed for his removal, and in finding such there could have been no difficulty.

But the reader may demand, what could be the purpose of James, if not to rid himself of his turbulent subject by death? If we are to substitute conjecture where certainty

is not to be had, we may suggest the probability that the king had determined to arrest Douglas in case he was found intractable, and to detain him a hostage for the quiet demeanor of his family, until his league with the northern earls was broken and the height of his dangerous power was in some degree diminished. There might be in this device some part of the policy, as well as the unscrupulous breach of faith, which characterized the politics of such a statesman as Crichton; and considering the vehement character of James II. and the stubborn and presumptuous disposition of the earl, it is easy to conceive how, in a personal interview between two such hot and passionate spirits, the intended purpose of arrest should have been changed for one of a more bloody and decisive character.

The five brothers of the slaughtered earl, on hearing his fate, instantly assembled themselves, and, with the friends of their powerful family, recognized the eldest of their number as Earl of Douglas, being the last that was fated to wear that formidable title. The assembly vowed revenge for the blood of Earl William; but, instead of pressing an instant siege of Stirling Castle, ere it was supplied with provisions or means of defence, they agreed to meet there in arms on the 25th day of March. They assembled accordingly, bringing with them the safe-conduct granted to Earl William, which they dragged in scorn at the tail of a lean cart-horse; and in further reprobation of the king's treachery, they proclaimed him and his advisers and accomplices in the death of Douglas false, perjured, and forsworn men, while four hundred horns blew out at once to attest the fact thus formally promulgated. They then burned the town of Stirling, but drew off their forces, as finding themselves still unable to attempt the siege of the castle, so that the king obtained some breathing-space to improve his affairs in a very dangerous crisis.

Several of the nobility, seeing it absolutely necessary to take a part in the approaching contest, declared for the lawful authority of the crown, feeling, probably, that the con-

trol of a sovereign prince was more honorable certainly, and not likely to be so severe as that of the House of Douglas. Among those who held such opinions was an important chief of the House of Douglas itself, namely, the Earl of Angus, who, being nearly related to the king, preferred the royal service to that of the head of his own house. The Lord Douglas of Dalkeith also held out his castle, so named, against the fiercest attacks of the earl his namesake and kinsman. The king's most powerful adherent was, however, Alexander Gordon, the first earl of Huntley, who arrayed under the royal standard a great part of the northern barons, and marched southward at their head toward Stirling.

The Earl of Crawford was, however, faithful to his bond of alliance, though Douglas, with whom it had been contracted, was no more. Being cited to justify himself against an accusation of treason, he refused to obey, and assembling a strong army of his friends in Fifeshire and Angusshire, he took post at Brechin, in order to intercept Huntley on his march toward Stirling. On the evening before the expected battle, Huntley, that his men might have more spirit in the encounter the next day, distributed many fair lands among the leaders of his army. Crawford followed a more niggardly policy. Collasse of Balnamoon, or Bonnymoon, who commanded a select division of axemen and billmen in the earl's army, feeling his own importance, requested of the earl, who was superior of his lands, that he would enter his son as vassal in the fief, which Crawford sternly refused to do. Collasse retired in discontent. The fight on the morrow, May 18, 1452, commenced with great fury, and the men of Angus attacked the northern troops so furiously as forced them to recoil, and placed the king's standard in danger. At this critical moment, John Collasse, whose duty it was to have sustained the assailants, led his division of billmen out of the line, and exposed the centre of Crawford's army without support, while the left wing engaged with the enemy. Huntley instantly availed himself of the

opportunity to assault and break the troops who were thus laid open. The fortune of the field was thus changed, and the defeated Earl of Crawford retreated in great displeasure to his house at Finhaven. A gentleman of Huntley's army is said to have pursued the vanquished earl so closely, that he at last became completely involved in a crowd of the immediate attendants of Lord Crawford, and finding it necessary for his safety to pass for one of the number, he followed them in that character into the house of Finhaven, where he heard the earl say he would have been content to have purchased that day's victory, though it were at the penalty of seven years' residence in the infernal regions. The gentleman brought back these words to King James, with a silver cup, bearing the Earl of Crawford's arms, which he had subtracted from the sideboard in the confusion, to be a voucher of his strange adventure.

The Earl of Huntley did not derive much immediate advantage from his victory. He was instantly recalled to the north, by the intelligence that the Earl of Murray, one of the brethren of the Earl of Douglas, had burned his castle of Strathbogie, and was ravaging his estates: so that Crawford remained in Angus as arbitrary as before, spoiling the lands and destroying the houses of such as had joined the king or Huntley against him. Despairing, however, of making an effectual resistance against the sovereign authority, this bold and fierce lord at length submitted himself in the most humble manner to the king's mercy, and was received with some degree of favor. The king rode to visit him at the house of Finhaven, where he was dutifully and respectfully entertained; and James is said to have thrown a flagstone from the battlements of the castle down into the ditch, that he might, without injury to the earl or his mansion, fulfil a vow which he had made in his anger, that he would make the highest stone of that house the lowest.

Shortly afterward (1454) some species of peace or truce seems to have been patched up between the king and the

Earl of Douglas, with little sincerity on either side, but from a feeling of unwillingness in both to carry to extremity a contest which must inevitably terminate in the destruction of the House of Douglas or that of Stewart, now exasperated by mutual wrongs, and placed in the most direct opposition to each other. But the pause of a few months again awakened the contending families to contention, which had never perhaps been actually suspended, but was now to be final and decisive. The forces of the parties stood thus matched:

In the north the king's interest predominated, though not without a struggle; Huntley having been defeated by Murray, at a swampy spot called the Bog of Dunkintie. The consequence of these feuds to the community at large may be guessed by the fate of the town of Elgin. One part of the town was burned by the Earl of Murray as the property of citizens who favored the Gordon: Huntley having recovered the superiority in his turn, it is most likely the other half was consumed as houses belonging to adherents of Douglas. Meantime both Murray and Ormond felt in the long run unequal to defend themselves in the north against the families of distinction who joined the king's standard, and they both retreated to the Hebrides.

The Earl of Douglas, after the temporary reconcilement with his sovereign, had retreated to England with several members of his family, and particularly with Margaret, called the Fair Maiden of Galloway, widow of the murdered Earl William, whose hand, notwithstanding their near relationship, the present earl was desirous to secure, on account of the rich dowry that was attached to possessing it. The dispensation which was necessary to authorize a marriage so objectionable was applied for at Rome; but, through the interest, doubtless, of the Scottish king, it was refused. The earl endeavored to effect a union with her, even without leave of the Church; but the lady in disgust fled to the Scottish king, and accused Douglas of having pressed a union upon her, and even made a pretended celebration of nuptials, though without the license of the pope.

For this and other causes Earl Douglas was, in 1454, summoned to appear before the king's privy-council, or perhaps before the parliament. He answered by a placard nailed secretly on the church doors and cross of Edinburgh, upbraiding the king with having murdered two chiefs of the family of Douglas, and bidding him defiance. James II. retaliated this contumacy by immediately raising a small army of Westland men and Highlanders, with which he ravaged the territories of Douglas, and destroyed the crop. Next spring the spoiling of the country was renewed. Finally, the king, as a decisive blow, sent the Earls of Orkney and Angus, with a considerable army, to lay siege to Abercorn, a strong castle of the Douglas's, situated about ten miles from Edinburgh. The Earl of Douglas, on his part, had almost absolute authority upon the borders, and it cost him little more than the waving of his banner to collect an army of forty thousand men, who were rendered by their very birth and situation soldiers from the cradle. With this predominant force the Earl of Douglas advanced to raise the siege of Abercorn, and gage the fortunes of his princely house against those of a crowned king and the subjects who adhered to him.

James himself is said to have shrunk from the contest when he looked on it more closely; and there were moments of despondency, in which he spoke of abandoning Scotland. Sir William Crichton, his subtle but apparently faithful minister, had died before these second tumults commenced; but he had a wise and able counsellor in James Kennedy, archbishop of Saint Andrew's, to whose advice he listened on this occasion. This sagacious prelate reminded James that the camp of the Douglas, though containing a very large host, consisted of numerous chieftains who followed the insurgent earl not from attachment, but either out of awe for his power, or hopes that they might gain something in the conflict. Could the expectations and fears of such persons be withdrawn from Douglas and fixed on the king, there would be no difficulty in transferring their allegiance to the

crown. "The foe," said the sagacious prelate, "are like a sheaf of arrows: while they remain bound together, it were vain to attempt to break them; but sever the tie which unites them together, and a child may shiver them one after another."

Acting upon the counsel which he gave, the primate undertook to lop a main limb from the Douglas's enterprise, by a private communication with Hamilton, who commanded a chosen body of troops in Douglas's army. He had been the uniform and attached friend of Earl William of Douglas, murdered at Stirling, and was now that of Earl James. But he began to perceive that the latter had too little of the decisive character belonging to his house, to bring the present conflict to an honorable or advantageous issue. He listened, therefore, but did not close immediately with the proposal of the archbishop that he should embrace the royal party, and he hesitated between the sense of what was most for his own interest and personal advantage, and that which friendship and honor required of him.

The king now advanced with his host, and Douglas drew out his forces to meet him. The king's heralds, advancing, charged the rebels to disperse, under the pains of treason; and though Douglas returned a scornful answer, he saw the royal proclamation had such influence on his army that he was induced to suspend the impending action till next day, and lead his troops back into his intrenchments. Douglas had no sooner entered his pavilion than Hamilton requested to speak with him, and demanded positive information whether it was the earl's purpose to fight or no, declaring it was high time they should know his mind, since, while the royal army was every day increasing, theirs was thinned by constant desertion. "If you are tired," answered Douglas, without further explanation of his intention, "you are welcome to be gone." Hamilton took the earl at his word, and that very night passed over to the royal camp from that of Douglas with the chosen troops which he commanded, being three hundred horse and as many infantry. The

example was contagious, for the character of Hamilton for prudence and sagacity stood very high. All the chiefs considered his change of sides as an example tending to show them the only possible mode of escaping from ruin, and contended which should be the first to act upon it. The army of the insurgents dissolved like a snow-wreath in a sudden thaw, and on the fateful morning succeeding that in which the Earl Douglas led out a host of nearly forty thousand men, his empty camp scarce contained a hundred soldiers save his own household troops.

The secession of Hamilton to the royal cause was deservedly regarded as excellent service. He was, for appearance' sake, put in ward for a while at Roslin, under the charge of the Earl of Orkney. But the king's favor was shown to him by large grants of forfeited estates, and by the title of Lord of Parliament, which raised first to nobility the great ducal House of Hamilton.

The Earl of Douglas broke up his camp and withdrew with his diminished squadrons to take refuge in the wildest districts of the border, where they lurked as exiles and fugitives in the countries which they had lately commanded with sovereign power. The castle of Abercorn, despairing of relief, soon surrendered, and of the defenders some principal persons were put to death for holding out the place against the king. James II. proceeded to march his army through the west and south of Scotland, where his powerful opponents had lately been proprietors of the soil, and leaders, if not tyrants, of the people, and with slight resistance reduced all the strong places of the Douglases to his own authority. Douglas Castle itself, that of Strathaven, and that of the Thrieve, were in this manner taken and demolished.

About the same time, and while the king was making his triumphal progress, Douglas himself fled into England with a very few attendants. His three brothers, Moray, Ormond, and Balveny, remained on the borders at the head of the remains of the followers of their family, and maintained them by military license. This, and the hope of benefiting by their

forfeitures, aroused against them the clan of Scott, already, under their chief, Buccleuch, rising into formidable distinction in the west and middle marches. The Beattiesons, a numerous and bold people, with other borderers, united under the leading of Scott. All these clans had been lately numbered among the vassals of Douglas, and had owned his authority; but the failure before Abercorn had emboldened them to throw off the yoke, and bid defiance to the banners under which they had at no distant period ranked themselves. A conflict took place at Arkinholm, near Langholm, May 1, 1455, where the bands of Douglas were totally defeated by these border clans. The Earl of Moray was slain; the Earl of Ormond taken prisoner, condemned, and executed; and of the brethren of Douglas the Lord Balveny alone escaped into England.

The history of this, the last of the original branch of the Douglas family, may as well be terminated here. Having during his prosperity maintained a close intercourse with the House of York, who were then in power, Douglas was hospitably received in England. In the year 1483, he, with the Duke of Albany, then a banished noble like himself, made an incursion into Scotland, having vowed they would make their offer on the high altar of Lochmaben upon St. Magdalen's Day. The west border men rose to repel the incursion. The exiles were defeated, and the Earl of Douglas struck from his horse. Surrounded by enemies, and seeing on the field a son of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, once his own follower, the earl surrendered himself to him in preference to others, that, as an old friend, he might profit by the reward of one hundred pound land [1] set upon his head. Kirkpatrick wept to see the extremity to which his old master was reduced, and offered to set him at liberty and fly with him into England. But Douglas, weary of exile, was resigned to his fate. When the aged prisoner came before the king, James III. commanded him to be put into the cloister at

[1] A one hundred pound land is a Scottish phrase.

Lindores. The earl only replied, "He that may no better must be a monk." He assumed the tonsure accordingly, and died about 1488.

Thus, after an obscure conflict with those who had been so lately its dependents, fell, and forever, the formidable power of the House of Douglas, which had so lately measured itself against that of monarchy. It can only be compared to the gourd of the prophet, which, spreading with such miraculous luxuriance, was withered in a single night. The indecision and imbecility of Earl James, who did not chance to possess the qualities of military skill and political wisdom which had seemed till his time almost hereditary in this great family, appear to have been the immediate cause of their destruction. But there was moral justice in the lesson that a house raised to power by the inappreciable services and inflexible loyalty of the good Lord James and his successors should fall by the irregular ambition and treasonable practices of its later chiefs.

In a parliament called at Edinburgh some care was taken that lavish grants of the domains of the crown should not become again the cause of bringing the kingdom into danger; "forasmuch," says the statute, "as the poverty of the crown is often the cause of the poverty of the realm." It was therefore declared that certain castles and domains should be inalienably annexed to the crown. It was further provided that the important office of warden of the marches, which comprehended so much power, and the command of so many warlike clans, should not be hereditary; that, in like manner, regalities, or jurisdictions possessing regal power, should not in future be bestowed upon subjects without the consent of the estates. These enactments were judiciously calculated to prevent the raising up in any other family the same power of disturbing the domestic tranquillity which the Douglases had so unhappily attained.

Yet, though the policy of retaining these forfeitures in the crown was distinctly seen, it could not in prudence be invariably acted upon. The king had no other means of

rewarding the services of the loyal chiefs who had stood by the crown in the last struggle than by grants out of the estates of the traitors; and the lands of the Douglas family, large as they were, were inadequate to satisfy the numerous expectants. The chief of these was the Earl of Angus, a large and flourishing branch of the Douglas, sprung from a second son of the earl of the principal family. The present Angus, as already mentioned, had been a loyalist during his kinsman's usurpation, which, from the difference of the family complexion, led to a popular saying that the Red Douglas had put down the Black. The Earl of Angus was rewarded with a grant of Douglas Castle with its valley and domains, of Tantallon Castle, and other large portions of the ancient estates of the Douglas family; an imprudent profusion, it must be allowed, since it served to raise this younger branch to a height not much less formidable to the crown than that which the original Douglases had attained. Gordon, in the north, was not forgotten; and the southern chieftains, profiting largely by the forfeiture of the Douglases, easily obtained gifts of considerable possessions, which no one but they themselves could have occupied with safety. In a word, if the king distinctly saw the policy of enriching the crown, which the statutes of his reign imply, it is as certain he found it impossible to follow the maxim rigidly without restricting the necessary bounty to his adherents. It was no time to lose men's hearts for lack of liberality; for the ashes of the civil hostility were still glowing in the remoter districts of Scotland, and a national war with England was impending.

A chief, termed John, lord of the Isles, had succeeded to Alexander, whose submission to James I. has been already noticed. He still took on him the title of Earl of Ross, and had, as usual, taken care to avail himself of the disturbances of the mainland by entering into a league with the Earl of Douglas. This negotiation had been concluded by one of the earl's brethren, who had bestowed on the insular chief and his Celtic followers much good wine, with silken cloths

and silver, for which they received in exchange mantles or Highland plaids. In consequence of councils adopted on this occasion, John of the Isles ravaged Inverkip with a fleet of twenty-score of galleys, and five or six thousand men. He made a great booty, and slew some able-bodied men, with several women and children. On this occasion also he plundered Bute, Arran, and the small isles called Cumrays, that lie in the mouth of the Clyde. In March, 1451, we find this turbulent chief once more in action. He took the important castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven in Badenoch, garrisoned the former, and destroyed the latter fortresses. This violence he committed at the instance of his father-in-law, James Livingston, alleging that the king had promised him a large lordship with the daughter of the said James Livingston, but had not kept his word. It appears that having performed these feats John retired, and afterward submitted himself on condition of pardon.

A war with England was the next object of interest during the active reign of James II. In 1459 he invaded England with six thousand men, burned and plundered the country for twenty miles inland, and destroyed eighteen towers and fortalices. The Scottish army remained on English ground six days, without battle being offered, and returned home without loss, and with worship and honor. On James's retreat, the Duke of York, and Earl Salisbury, with other English nobles, led to the border a body of about four or five thousand men; but having differed in opinion of the plan of the campaign, they quarrelled among themselves, and retired with disgrace. The cause of these internal discords in the English camp probably arose out of the dissensions concerning the red and white roses, which were now engrossing the nation. The truce with England was prolonged for nine years. James, however, seems to have deemed the period favorable for recovering such Scottish possessions as were still held by the English; accordingly, we find him breaking through the truce.

It was with this view that the king collected a numerous

army, and laid siege to Roxburgh, in 1460, which had now been in possession of the English since the captivity of David II., and, as a military post, was of the greatest importance, being very strongly situated between the Tweed and Teviot, and not far from their confluence, in the most fertile part of the Scottish frontier. John, the lord of the Isles, appeared in the royal camp, to atone for former errors and treasonable actions by zeal on the present occasion. He led a select body of Highlanders and Islesmen armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, with which he offered to take the vanguard of the army should it be necessary to enter England, and to march a mile before the main body, so as to encounter the first brunt of the onset. Invasion, however, made no part of James's purpose on this occasion. He was desirous to recover possession of Roxburgh, and not being apprehensive of relief from England, resolved to proceed in the siege according to formal rule. He beleaguered the castle on every side, and battered it from the north of the Tweed, his cannon being placed in the Duke of Roxburgh's park of Fleurs. James was proud of his train of cannon, and of the skill of a French engineer, who could level them so truly as to hit within a fathom of the place he aimed at, which, in those days, was held extraordinary practice. The siege had not continued many days when the arrival of the Earl of Huntley, to whose valor and fidelity the king had been so much indebted, with a gallant body of forces from the north, increased the king's hopes of succeeding in his enterprise. He received his noble and faithful adherent with the greatest marks of respect and regard, and conducted him to see his batteries.

Unhappily, standing in the vicinity of a gun which was about to be discharged, the rude mass, composed of ribs of iron, bound together by hoops of the same metal, burst asunder, and a fragment striking the king on the thigh, broke it asunder, and killed him on the spot. The Earl of Angus was severely wounded on the same occasion.

Thus fell James II. of Scotland, in the twenty-ninth year

of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. His person was strong and well put together, and he was reckoned excellent at all exercises. His face would have been handsome, had it not been partly disfigured by a red spot, which procured him from his subjects the name of James with the Fiery Face. Of the natural violence of his temper he had given an unfortunate proof, by suffering himself to be surprised into a violation of faith toward Douglas. His subjects seem, however, to have considered this as the act of momentary passion; and James's clemency to Crawford, who, in the words of the chronicler, had been "right dangerous to the king," after that earl was entirely in his power, as well as the small number of persons who suffered for rebellions which shook the very throne, made his temper appear merciful, compared to that of his father, James I. He possessed the gift of being able to choose wise counsellors, and had the sense to follow their advice when chosen. In the display which James II. was called on to make of his military talents, he showed both courage and conduct. His death was an inexpressible loss to his country, which was again plunged into the miseries of a long minority.

James II. left three sons: James, his successor; Alexander, duke of Albany; and John, who was created earl of Mar; with two daughters, Mary and Margaret, of whom we shall have occasion to say more hereafter.

CHAPTER XX

Roxburgh is taken—Administration during James's Minority—He assumes the Royal Authority, by Advice of the Boyds—The younger Boyd is created Earl of Arran, and married to the King's Sister—He negotiates a Marriage between the King and a Princess of Denmark, and obtains the Orkney and Zetland Islands in security of the Dowry: is disgraced, and dies in obscurity—Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of Scotland and a Daughter of England, and its Conditions: broken off by Edward IV.—Submission of the Lord of the Isles—Character of James III.—His favorite Pursuits—His Disposition to Favoritism—Character of Albany and Mar, the King's Brothers—The King imprisons them on suspicion—Albany escapes—Mar is murdered—War with England—Conspiracy of Lauder—The King's Favorite seized and executed—Intrigues of Albany—He is received into his Brother's Favor; but is afterward again banished—Peace with England—The King gives way to his Taste for Music and Building—Conspiracy of the Southern Nobles—Battle of Sauchie Burn, and the King's Murder

THE sudden death of James II. struck such a damp into the Scottish nobles that they were about to abandon the siege of Roxburgh, and break up their camp, when the courage of Mary of Guelders, the widowed queen, reanimated their spirits. She arrived in the camp almost immediately after the king's death, and throwing herself and her son, their infant sovereign, upon the faith of the Scottish lords, conjured them never to remove the siege from this ill-fated castle till they had laid it in ruins. The nobles caught fire at her exhortations. They crowned their king at the neighboring abbey of Kelso, with such ceremonies of homage and royalty as the time admitted, and, pressing the siege with double vigor, compelled the English garrison to surrender on terms. The castle of Rox-

burgh they levelled to the ground, agreeably to the policy recommended by Robert Bruce. The vestiges of its walls still show the extent and consequence of which it had formerly boasted.

The queen-regent naturally retained a considerable influence in the government, and seems to have acted for some time as regent, with the assistance of a council of state. Her conduct, however, which was not personally respectable, considerably diminished her influence before her death, which took place when she was in the full vigor of life. Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, the wise and loyal friend of his father, became the personal guardian of the infant king. The rapid changes of fortune occurring in the wars of York and Lancaster saved Scotland during this minority from the dangers arising from her ambitious neighbors. The meek usurper, Henry VI., was received with hospitality in Scotland during his exile after the battle of Towton, 1461; and Berwick, an important acquisition, was delivered up by his authority to the Scots, and duly garrisoned. The assistance rendered by Scotland to the dethroned king occasioned a brief war with England, urged with little zeal on either side, and which soon terminated by a truce, which in 1463 was extended to the unusually long period of fifty-four years.

The death of the queen-mother and of Archbishop Kennedy now opened to the king, who was in his fourteenth year, the dangerous privilege of acting for himself. Subject all his life to the weakness of adopting favorites, to whom he intrusted the charge of public affairs, when the nation had a right to expect they should be administered by himself personally, James surrendered himself to his immediate partialities. Robert, Lord Boyd, and his two sons, were at this time high in James's confidence; and the royal favor filled them with such presumption that they removed the person of the king from those to whom his custody had been committed by the estates of the kingdom, and brought him to Edinburgh, under pretence of setting him at liberty.

A new parliament was convoked, in which Lord Boyd was formally pardoned for his late audacious enterprise; and, to add to the authority of the family, the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of James II., and sister to the king, was given in marriage to Sir Thomas Boyd, who was at the same time created Earl of Arran.

An important acquisition to the Scottish dominions was effected in this reign (1467), feeble as it was. The Orkney Islands had as yet remained part of the Norwegian dominions, having been seized by that people in the ninth century. A large sum of money was due from Scotland to Denmark, being the arrears of the annual, as it was called, of Norway. This was the annuity of one hundred marks, due to Norway as the consideration for the cession of the Hebrides, or Western Isles, settled by the treaty of 1264, entered into after Haco's defeat at the battle of Largs. James I. had obtained some settlement respecting this annuity; but it had been again permitted to fall into arrear, and the amount of the debt had become uncertain.

Under the influence of Charles VII. of France, there had been negotiations between Denmark and Scotland for the final arrangement of these claims, which were renewed in 1468. Boyd, the young Earl of Arran, seems to have managed this treaty with considerable dexterity. It was finally agreed that James III. should wed a daughter of the Princess of Denmark, whom her father proposed to endow with a portion of sixty thousand florins, of which ten thousand only were to be paid in ready money, and for security of the remainder the islands of Orkney were to be assigned in pledge. In addition to this, Denmark renounced all claim to the arrears of the annuity payable on account of the cession of the Hebrides, which seem to have been given up as an old, prescribed, and somewhat desperate claim. When the term for payment of the ten thousand florins arrived, Christian of Denmark found himself so short of money that he could only produce the fifth part of the sum, and for the rest an assignment of security over the archipelago of Zetland was offered

and gladly accepted. Thus Scotland acquired a right of mortgage to the whole of these islands, constituting the ancient Thule, so important to her in every point of view, and which, as we shall hereafter see, the crown of Denmark was never able to redeem.

While the Earl of Arran was negotiating this national treaty, his influence with the king was undermined by those courtiers who envied his sudden elevation, and the preference which James had displayed toward him and his family. When the earl arrived in the Firth of Forth with the fleet which escorted the Danish princess to the shores where she was to reign, Arran's wife, the Princess Margaret, came on board to acquaint him that if he landed his life would be in danger. They fled together, therefore; and the new Earl of Arran returned to Denmark, to seek refuge from the indignation of his fickle prince, for whom he had so lately achieved, in the same kingdom, such important negotiations. In the meantime the total ruin of his friends at home took place, almost without opposition, and the power of the House of Boyd was destroyed as speedily as it arose. It is vain to inquire why a weak prince should be as changeable as he was violent in his partialities. Sentence of high treason was passed upon the Boyds for their aggression in 1466, though fully pardoned by a subsequent parliament. Sir Alexander Boyd suffered death; the Lord Boyd escaped to England, where he died in poverty. The Earl of Arran, who appears by his personal qualities to have merited the confidence which the king had so suddenly withdrawn, seems to have received but a cold welcome in Denmark. The Princess Margaret was separated from him and sent back to Scotland, on the demand, it may be presumed, of her royal brother; and her unfortunate husband, after wandering as an exile from one country to another, died, it is said, in Flanders. His death, or a divorce between him and the Princess Margaret, obtained by the influence of James, gave an opportunity for forming a second marriage between the king's sister and the Lord Hamilton, the heir of a family

which had been rising in influence and importance ever since the first lord of the name so opportunely embraced the cause of the king, in the grand struggle of James II. with the House of Douglas. The princess had a family by both marriages; but Boyd's son and daughter died without heirs; while her son by Hamilton survived, so that in Queen Mary's time their descendant stood first in succession to the crown.

In the parliament of 1469, held after the fall of the Boyds, we see the good sense of the people of Scotland displayed in an act declaring that every homicide who flees to sanctuary shall be taken forth and put to the judgment of an assize; "for to such manslayers of forethought felony," said the statute, "the law will not grant the immunity of the Church."

The sceptre of France was now swayed by Louis XI., one of the most wise of princes and most worthless of men, of whom it can be hardly said, whether he were more superstitious or sagacious, more prudent and liberal, or more perfidious and cruel. He was aware of the importance of the Scottish league to the safety of France, as affording a ready means of annoyance against England. Edward IV. of England became, on the other hand, sensible that it was better to acquire, if possible, the goodwill of his northern neighbors by friendly means, and thus secure his frontier at home, while he undertook the invasion of France, which he meditated, than, with the haughty policy of his predecessors, to renew the attempt of subjugating Scotland by force. By a treaty entered into in 1474, it was agreed that, in order to promote the mutual happiness, honor, and interest of this noble island, called Great Britain, a contract of marriage should be executed between the Prince of Scotland and Cecilia, daughter of the king of England, the former being only two, the latter four, years old. A portion of twenty thousand marks sterling was to be paid by annual instalments of two thousand marks, to commence with the date of the contract. If the prince or princess named in the contract should die, it was agreed that another of the royal family to which the deceased party might belong should fill up his or her place

in the contract. If such marriage did not take place, Scotland became bound to repay the sum of money advanced in manner aforesaid, under the deduction of two thousand five hundred marks, which Edward agreed to abandon as a consideration paid for the friendship of Scotland at a critical period. By the same treaty, the long truce of fifty-five years was affirmed and secured.

It appears from this remarkable treaty that the policy of Louis XI., who maintained his power in Europe more by influence and subsidies than by the direct exercise of positive violence and force, was becoming general through Europe, and had been adopted by England.

The payment of the Princess Cecilia's portion so long before the possibility of an effectual marriage taking place, afforded an honorable pretext for England to give and Scotland to receive by instalments a certain large sum of money or subsidy, by which annual gratification she was to be induced to maintain amity with her wealthier neighbor. Edward IV. was, however, too impetuous and too necessitous to continue long this expensive, though secure course of policy. Three years' instalments of the proposed portion were paid with regularity; but Edward in the course of 1478 conceived he stood so well with France as might enable him to dispense with the expensive friendship of Scotland.

In the same year in which the treaty of marriage with England was fixed upon, the counsellors of James III. resolved to proceed to check the power of John, lord of the Isles, and titular earl of Ross, whose insubordination again had merited chastisement. After a show of resistance the island lord submitted himself, and by an act of parliament was finally deprived of the earldom of Ross, which was annexed inalienably to the crown, with liberty to the kings to convey it as an appanage to their younger sons, but to no meaner subject. The humbled lord of the Isles was also deprived of the regions of Knapdale and Cantire, which he had possessed on the continent, and dismissed under promise to be a submissive subject in future.

James III. had now, 1478, attained his twenty-first year, under circumstances of success which had attended no Scottish monarch since Robert Bruce. His kingdom was strengthened by the expulsion of the English from Roxburgh Castle and the town of Berwick, as well as by the acquisition of the Orkney and Zetland Islands, the natural dependencies of Scotland. The country was relieved of the charge of the Norway annual, a burden it was incapable of discharging; and the increasing consequence of the nation was manifested by the contending offers of France and England for her favor and friendship. All these advantages indicate that James had, at this period of his reign, able ministers, by whom his councils were directed. The chief of these probably was the chancellor, Andrew Stewart, Lord Evandale, whose importance was now so great that, in virtue of his office, he took rank next to the princes of the blood royal. He was a natural son of Sir James Stewart, son of Murdach, duke of Albany.

In the meantime the unfortunate James began to disclose evil qualities and habits which his youth had hitherto concealed from observation. He had a dislike to the active sports of hunting and the games of chivalry, mounted on horseback rarely, and rode ill. A consciousness of these deficiencies, in what were the most approved accomplishments of the age, and a certain shyness which attends a timorous temper, rendered the king alike unfit and unwilling to mingle in the pleasures of his nobility, or to show himself to his subjects in the romantic pageants which were the delight of the age. James's amusements were of a character in which neither his peers nor people could share, and though to a certain extent they were innocent and even honorable, they were yet such as, pushed to excess, must have necessarily interfered with the regular discharge of his royal duties. He was attached to what are now called the fine arts of architecture and music; and in studying these used the instructions of Rogers, an English musician, Cochrane, a mason or architect, and Torphichen, a dancing-master.

Another of his domestic minions was Hommil, a tailor, not the least important in the conclave, if we may judge from the variety and extent of the royal wardrobe, of which a voluminous catalogue is preserved.

Spending his time with such persons, who, whatever their merit might be in their own several professions, could not be fitting company for a prince, James necessarily lost the taste for society of a different description, whose rank imposed on him a certain degree of restraint; and with the habit of engaging in good society easily, he left unpracticed the manners which ought to distinguish the prince when mixing with the nobility of his realm. Thus thrown back upon his low-born associates, it was scarcely possible that James should not have used the counsels of men totally ignorant in political affairs, upon matters far above their sphere; or that they, with the presumption common to upstarts, should not readily interpose their advice on such subjects. The nation, therefore, with disgust and displeasure, saw the king disuse the society of the Scottish nobles, and abstain from their counsel, to lavish favors upon, and be guided by the advice of, a few whom the age termed base mechanics.

In this situation, the public eye was fixed upon James's younger brothers, Alexander, duke of Albany, and John, earl of Mar. These princes were remarkable for the royal qualities which the king did not possess. Being naturally drawn into comparison with their brother, and extolled above him by the public voice, James seems to have become jealous of them, even on account of their possessing the virtues or endowments which he himself was conscious of wanting. It is too consonant with the practice of courts to suppose that Mar and Albany were not quiescent under this dishonorable suspicion and jealousy. It is probable that they intrigued with the other discontented nobles; with what purpose, or to what extent, cannot now be ascertained. Mar was accused of having inquired of pretended witches concerning the term of the king's life; a suspicious subject of inquiry, considering it was made by so near a relation;

and the progress of Albany's life shows him capable of unscrupulous ambition.

The king, on his part, resorted to diviners and soothsayers to know his own future fate; and the answer (probably dictated by the favorite Cochrane) was, that he should fall by the means of his nearest of kin. The unhappy monarch, with a self-contradiction, one of the many implied in superstition, imagined that his brothers were the relations indicated by the oracle; and also imagined that his knowledge of their intentions might enable him to alter the supposed doom of fate.

In 1478, Albany and Mar were suddenly arrested, as the king's suspicions grew darker and more dangerous; and while the duke was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, Mar was committed to that of Craigmillar. Conscious, probably, that the king possessed matter which might afford a pretext to take his life, Albany resolved on his escape. He communicated his scheme to a faithful attendant, by whose assistance he intoxicated, or, as some accounts say, murdered the captain of the guard, and then attempted to descend from the battlements of the castle by a rope. His attendant made the essay first; but the rope being too short, he fell, and broke his thigh-bone. The duke, warned by this accident, lengthened the rope with the sheets from his bed, and made the perilous descent in safety. He transported his faithful attendant on his back to a place of security, then was received on board a vessel which lay in the roads of Leith, and set sail for France, where he met a hospitable reception, and was maintained by the bounty of Louis XI.

In 1479, enraged at the escape of the elder of his captives, it would seem that James was determined to make secure of Mar, who remained. There occur no records to show that the unfortunate prince was subjected to any public trial; nor can it be known, save by conjecture, how far James III. was accessory to the perpetration of his murder, which was said to be executed by bleeding the prisoner to

death in a bath. Several persons were at the same time condemned and executed for acts of witchcraft, charged as having been practiced, at Mar's instance, against the life of the king.

About this time war broke out between the two sister countries of Britain, after an interval of peace of unusual duration. The blame may have originally laid with England, who had violated the articles of the last treaty, in discontinuing the stipulated payment of the Princess Cecilia's portion; but the incursions of the Scots gave the first signal for actual hostilities. Wise regulations were laid down by the Scottish parliament for garrisoning, with hired soldiers, Berwick, the Hermitage Castle, and other fortresses on the border, the expense to be defrayed from the public revenue. If Edward IV., who is discourteously termed the *reifar* or robber, should invade Scotland, it was appointed that the king should take the field, and that the whole nobles and commons should live or die with him.

Edward IV. on his part, desirous to obtain an advantage similar to that which had been gained by Edward I. and Edward III., by means of the Baliols' claim to the Scottish throne, made proposals to the banished Duke of Albany that he should set himself up as a competitor for his brother's throne. Whatever had been the specious virtue of Albany, it was of a kind easily seduced by temptation; and, like Baliol in similar circumstances, he hastened from France over to England, agreed to become king of Scotland under the patronage of Edward, consented to resign the long-disputed question of the independence of his country, promised the abandonment of Berwick and other places on the border, and undertook to restore to his estate the banished Earl of Douglas, who was to be a party in the projected invasion. Under this agreement, which was, however, kept strictly secret, the celebrated Duke of Gloucester, afterward King Richard III., was detached to the Scottish wars at the head of a considerable army, and Albany accompanied him.

The Scottish king had in the meantime assembled his

army, and set forward against the enemy. But there existed a spirit of disaffection among his nobility, which led to an unexpected explosion. Cochrane, the mason, the most able, or at least the most bold of the king's plebeian favorites, had made so much money by accepting of bribes and selling his interest in the king's favor, that he was able to purchase from his master James, who added avarice to the other vices of a grovelling and degraded spirit, the earldom of Mar. It is an additional shade of meanness in James's character, that, when satisfied with the amount of the consideration to be paid, he never hesitated at conferring upon a low-born upstart the lordship which had belonged to his late murdered brother. Cochrane proceeded in his career. The insatiable extortioner amassed money by indirect means of every kind; and one mode which particularly affected the poor was the debasement of the coin of the realm, by mixing the silver with so much copper as entirely to destroy its value. This adulterated coin was called the Cochrane-plack, and was so favorite a speculation of his, that, having been told it would be one day called in, he answered scornfully, "Yes, on the day I am hanged"; an unwitting prophecy, which was punctually accomplished.

The rank and state affected by the new Earl of Mar only more deeply incensed the nobility, who considered their order as disgraced by the introduction of such a person. A band of three hundred men constantly attended the favorite armed with battle-axes, and displaying his livery of white with black fillets. He himself used to appear in a riding-suit of black velvet, his horn mounted with gold, and hung around his neck by a chain of the same metal. In this manner he joined the Scottish host. The army had advanced from the capital as far as Lauder, when the nobility, beginning to feel sensible of their power in a camp consisting chiefly of their own soldiers and feudal followers, resolved that they would meet together, and consult what measures were to be taken for the reform of the abuses of the commonwealth,

having already in vain represented their grievances to the king.

The armed conclave was held in Lauder Church, where, in the course of their deliberations, Lord Gray reminded them of the fable in which the mice are said to have laid a project for preventing the future ravages of the cat by tying a bell around her neck, which might make them aware of her approach. "An excellent proposal," said the orator, "but which fell unexpectedly to the ground, because none of the mice had courage enough to fasten the bell on the cat's neck." "I will bell the cat!" exclaimed Douglas, earl of Angus; from which he was ever afterward called by the homely appellation of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. It was agreed that the king's favorite should be seized and put to death, and the king himself should be placed under some gentle restraint, until he should give satisfactory assurance of a change of measures.

Just as this was determined on, Cochrane came to the council, and demanded admission. He was suffered to enter with some of his attendants, but was received with the scorn and indignation which were the natural preface of actual violence. Douglas of Lochleven, who kept the door, snatched from him the hunting-horn that hung round his neck. "Thou hast hunted mischief," he said, "over long." Angus seized the chain which held the bugle, saying, "A halter would suit him better." "Is it jest or earnest, my lords?" said the astonished favorite, surprised at his reception. "It is sorrowful earnest," they answered, "and that thou shalt presently feel." One or two, deemed the most grave of the nobles, undertook to acquaint the king with their purpose; while the others, seizing the minions who were the objects of their violence, caused them to be hanged over the bridge of Lauder. Cochrane, when brought to the place of execution, showed how much a paltry love of show made part of his character. He made it his suit to be hanged in a silken cord, and offered to supply it from his own pavilion. This idle request only taught his stern auditors how to wound his

feelings more deeply, "Thou shalt die," they said, "like a mean slave as thou art"; and applied to the purpose of his execution a halter of horsehair, as the most degrading means of death which they could invent. This execution was done with excessive applause on the part of the army. All the favorites of the weak prince perished, except a youth called Ramsay of Balmain, who clung close to the king's person; James begged his life with so much earnestness that the peers relented, and granted their sovereign's boon.

The consequences of this enterprise are very puzzling to the historian. The Scottish nobility seem to have retired with the determination not to oppose the English host in arms, expecting, probably, that they would be able to settle some accommodation by means of the Duke of Albany. They were as yet ignorant of the disgraceful treaty which he had made with England, and hoped to have the advantage of his talents as a regent to direct the weak councils of his brother James. In the meantime they subjected the king to a mitigated imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle.

It would seem that Albany, perceiving the Scottish nobles totally indisposed to admit his claim to the kingdom, was willing enough to accept the proposal of becoming lieutenant-general. That he might do so with the better grace, Albany and the Duke of Gloucester interceded with the Scottish lords for the liberation of the king. The nobles addressed the Duke of Albany with much respect, and agreed to grant whatever he desired, acknowledging him to be, after James's children, the nearest of blood to the royal family. "But for that person who accompanies you," they continued, in allusion to the English prince, "we know nothing of him whatever, or by what right he presumes to talk to us upon our national affairs, and will pay no deference to his wishes, seeing he is entitled to none."

The English, however, gained one important advantage upon this occasion. The town of Berwick, which had been delivered up to the Scots by Henry VI., and possessed by them for nearly twenty years, was now taken by the troops

of Richard of Gloucester, and the castle being also yielded, this strong fortress and valuable seaport never afterward returned to the dominion of Scotland. In other respects the English sought no national advantage by the pacification.

James was in this manner restored to his liberty, and, either from fickleness of temper or profound dissimulation, appeared for a time to be so much attached to Albany, that he could not be separated from him for a moment. The concord of the royal brethren showed itself by some demonstrations which would seem strange at the present day. They rode together, on one occasion, mounted on the same horse, from the castle of Edinburgh, along the principal street, down to the Abbey of Holyrood, to the great joy and delectation of all good subjects. Every night, also, the king and Albany partook the same bed.

But this fraternal concord, which must have had, from the beginning, its source in a degree of affectation, did not long continue; and, in 1483, the predominant disposition of each prince disconcerted their union. The ambition of Albany would have alarmed the fears of a less timorous or suspicious man than James. It appears too plainly that the duke resumed his treasonable practices with the court of England, and it would seem that his intrigues were discovered, and that the greater part of the Scottish nobles, incensed at his perfidy, joined in expelling him from the government. In 1484 doom of forfeiture was pronounced against Albany, and he fled to England, having first, as the last act of treachery in his power, delivered up his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison, and thus, in so far as in him lay, exposed the frontiers of which he was the warden. The next year witnessed the battle of Lochmaben, the event of a foray undertaken by Douglas and Albany into Annandale, in which Douglas was made prisoner, and Albany obliged to fly for his life.[1]

Richard III. had now (1485) begun his brief and precarious reign. A short negotiation speedily arranged a truce

[1] See page 324.

with Scotland, which might have had some endurance if the monarchs who made it had remained steady on their thrones. But James, when he felt himself uncontrolled in his sovereignty, used it, as his inclinations determined him, in founding expensive establishments for the cultivation of music, and in the erection of chapels and palaces in a peculiar species of architecture, in which the Gothic style was mingled with an imitation of the Grecian orders. To meet the expense of these buildings and foundations, and to gratify his natural love of amassing treasure, James watched and availed himself of every opportunity by which he could collect money; nor did he hesitate to appropriate to these favorite purposes funds which the haughty nobles were disposed to consider as perquisites of their own. A particular instance of this nature hurried on James's catastrophe.

In order to maintain the expenses of a double choir in the royal chapel of Stirling, the king ventured to apply to that purpose the revenues of the priory of Coldingham. The two powerful families of Home and Hepburn had long accounted this wealthy abbey their own property, insomuch that they expected that the king would not have violated or interfered with a family compact, by which they had agreed that the prior of Coldingham should be alternately chosen from their respective names. The king's appropriation of the revenues which they had considered as destined to the advantage of their friends and clansmen, disposed these haughty chiefs to seek revenge as men who were suffering oppression. The spirit of discontent spread fast among the southern barons, much influenced by the Earl of Angus, a nobleman both hated and feared by the king, who could not be supposed to have forgotten the manner in which he had acquired his popular epithet of Bell-the-Cat. In the vain hope of controlling his discontented nobles, the king showed his fears more than his wisdom by prohibiting them to appear at court in arms, with the exception of Ramsay, whose life had been spared upon his entreaty at the execution of Lauder Bridge. James had made this young man captain of his

guard, and created him a peer, by the name of Lord Bothwell, under which title the new favorite had succeeded, if not to the whole power, at least to much of the unpopularity of Cochrane, whose fate he had so nearly shared.

A league was now formed against James, which was daily increased by fresh adherents till it ended in a rebellion which could be compared to no similar insurrection in Scottish history, save that of the Douglas in the preceding reign.

The fate of James III. was not yet determined, notwithstanding this powerful combination. He had on his side the northern barons, and was at least as powerful as his father had been at the siege of Abercorn. But he had not his father's courage, nor the sage counsels of Bishop Kennedy. His wife, Margaret of Denmark, who, there is reason to think, had been a wise adviser as well as a most excellent spouse, died at a critical period for her husband (1487). Thus destitute of wise counsel, the king was advised (probably by Ramsay) to arrest suddenly the nobles concerned in the conspiracy. Unfortunately for the issue of this scheme, the king was unwise enough to admit Angus to knowledge of his intentions. The earl instantly betrayed them to the malcontents, who, instead of attending the king's summons to court, withdrew to the southward, and raised their banners in open insurrection. James, unnerved by his fears, repaired to the more northern regions, in which the strength of his adherents lay, and by the assistance of Athole, Crawford, Lindesay of the Byres, Ruthven, and other powerful chiefs of the east and north, assembled a considerable army. The insurgent lords advanced to the southern shores of the Forth.

During some indecisive skirmishes, and equally indecisive negotiations, the associated nobles contrived to get into their hands the king's eldest son, by the treachery of Shaw of Sauchie, his governor. This gave a color to their enterprise which was of itself almost decisive of success. They erected the royal standard of Scotland in opposition to its monarch, and boldly proclaimed that they were in arms in behalf of

the youthful prince, whose unnatural father intended to put him to death, and to sell the country to the English. These were exaggerated calumnies; but it may be observed that the populace are more easily imposed upon by falsehoods suited to the grossness of their intellects than by such arguments as are consonant to reason. The king stood so low in public estimation, on account of his love of money and his disposition to favoritism, that nothing could be invented respecting him so base that it would not find credence among his subjects.

The king retired upon Stirling; but the faithless Shaw, who had betrayed the prince to the rebel lords, completed his treachery by refusing James access to the castle of that town. In a species of despair, the king turned southward, like a stag brought to bay, with the purpose of meeting his enemies in conflict. The battle took place not far from Falkirk, where Wallace was defeated, and yet nearer to the memorable field of Bannockburn, where Bruce triumphed. At the first encounter, the archers of the king's army had some advantage. But the Annandale men, whose spears were of unusual length, charged, according to their custom, with loud yells, and bore down the left wing of the king's forces. James, who was already dispirited from seeing his own banner and his own son brought in arms against him, and who remembered the prophecy of the witch, that he should fall by his nearest of kin, on hearing the cries of the bordermen, lost courage entirely, and turned his horse for flight. As he fled at a gallop through the hamlet of Milltown, his charger, a fiery animal, presented to him on that very morning by Lindesay of the Byres, took fright at the sight of a woman engaged in drawing water at a well, and threw to the ground his timid and inexpert rider. The king was borne into the mill, where he was so incautious as to proclaim his name and quality. The consequence was that some of the rebels who followed the chase entered the hut and stabbed him to the heart. The persons of the murderers were never known, nor was the king's body ever found.

Thus fell a king, of whom, but for the dark suspicions attending the death of his brother, the Earl of Mar, it might be said that he was weak and unfortunate, rather than criminal. But the follies of monarchs are no less fatal to themselves and their subjects than their actual crimes and vices. The love James bore to the fine arts might have been not only pardonable but honorable; but his making merchandise of the justice which he owed to his subjects, in order to raise palaces, and maintain musical foundations, was a guilty indulgence. There is reason to suppose that he regulated his policy upon that of Louis XI., with whom his character had some points of resemblance. They were both avaricious; both disposed to manage their affairs by personal favorites of a low order; both distrustful of the aristocracy of their respective kingdoms. But James had the misfortune to resemble Louis only in the weaker points of his character. He had neither the crafty policy, the acute foresight, nor the personal courage of his model; nor are we entitled to say that, except in one dark action, his rule was stained with the uncompromising cruelty of his contemporary. He left three sons, of whom the eldest, James IV., succeeded to the throne, under the odious recollection, for which he appears to have entertained the most constant remorse, that he had been the instrument of the defeat and death of his father.

CHAPTER XXI

Policy of the Victors after the Battle of Sauchie Burn—Trial of Lord Lindesay—He is defended by his Brother, and acquitted—Exploits of Sir Andrew Wood—Peaceful Disposition of Henry VII.—Prosperity of Scotland—Short War with England in behalf of Perkin Warbeck—Progress of the Scots in Learning and Literature—James IV.'s splendid Court—Marriage between him and Margaret of England—Peace between Scotland and England—Final Forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles—Measures to promote public Improvement—Naval Affairs—James builds the largest Ship in Europe—Affair of the Bartons—Murder of Sir Robert Kerr, and its Consequences—Intrigues of France to stir up James against England—Manifesto of James, and Henry's Answer—James assembles the Array of his Kingdom—Omens of Misfortune—James invades England, but loses Time in Northumberland, and differs with his Council—Battle of Flodden, and Defeat and Death of James IV.

AFTER the battle of Sauchie Burn, a pause ensued till the actual fate of the king should be known; for, as we have said, his body had been carried off by those who slew him, and it was never known where he was buried. The insurgent barons at length became aware of the extent of their success. They easily suppressed an assembly of troops made by the Earl of Lennox, who had put himself in arms to revenge the king's death. The Lord Home, who had been a prime leader of the insurrection against James III., was raised to the office of lord high chamberlain for life, and created warden of the east marches. Angus was also gratified with offices of trust and consideration. Both these great peers seem to have been so far men of wisdom and moderation, as to lend their willing aid to drown the recollections of the civil war, and establish a fair and equitable government, correcting the errors which had crept in

during the late reign, but without disturbing the party of the deceased king, for the side which they had taken during the civil war.

This moderation, however, was not adopted until the failure of an attempt on the part of the prevailing faction to gain some advantage by means of obtaining fines and forfeitures from such of the lords as had been most active in the cause of James III., which they charged as an act of treason against his son.[1] Lord Lindesay of the Byres was the first person called upon before the parliament to answer for a crime of a description so anomalous. He was a stout old soldier, bred in the wars of France, and knew no better answer to make to the indictment than by offering to fight with his accusers, venturing his own person against any two of them. The lord chancellor apologized to the king for the veteran's rudeness, the natural consequence of a military education, and advised Lord Lindesay to submit himself to the king's pleasure, who he ventured to say would be gracious to him. There stood near the Lord Lindesay his younger brother Patrick, who understanding it was the wily meaning of the chancellor to obtain a submission on the part of his brother, that he might impose some mulct or penalty upon him, trod upon the Lord Lindesay's foot, as an intimation to him not to plead guilty, or "come," as it was called, "into the king's will." The hint was totally lost on Lord Lindesay, who was on bad terms with his brother, and happened besides to have a corn on his toe, which made him resent the treading on his foot as an injury as well as an insult, for which he fiercely rebuked his brother. But, without regard to his unreasonable anger, master Patrick knelt down, and prayed to be heard as counsel for his brother and the house of his forefathers. This could not

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[1] So says the historian, Lindsay of Pitscottie, expressly; but perhaps the charge may have been an accession to the subsequent attempt of Lennox to revenge King James the Third's fate, which certainly might be, with more decency and plausibility, converted into an accusation of treason against the young king.

decently be refused; and the pleader, in an exordium of some eloquence, implored those whom he addressed, that, as victors in the civil contest, they would be pleased to recollect that they were still liable to the vicissitudes of human affairs, and might themselves hereafter stand at that very bar, and implore the protection of the laws against such triumphant enemies as might happen to be in power for the time. He therefore conjured them to administer the laws impartially, as they would desire to enjoy their protection if they should need it in their own case. The chancellor assured Lindesay that his pleading should be fairly heard and decided upon. The advocate proceeded to object to the presence in court of the young king, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his retaining a seat in the judicature, in a case where he was one of the parties concerned. The parliament yielded to his reasoning on the subject, and the young king, to his no small displeasure, was obliged to retire from the assembly. The counsel next stated that the term of the charge, which ought to run on the summons, had been suffered to elapse, and that the citation bore no continuation of days. This was an objection in point of form which the parliament also thought it necessary to sustain: so Lord Lindesay was dismissed from the bar. He was so much astonished at his escape, for it may be believed he comprehended nothing of the nature of the defence, that he swore, in a rupture of gratitude, that he would reward his brother's fine pyot words (*i.e.*, magpie talk) with the lands of Kirkfother. The king, on the contrary, displeased with what he construed into a personal insult, said he would send the advocate where he should not see his feet for twelve months, and accomplished his threat by casting him into the dungeon of the Rothesay of Bute. Under what pretext Mr. Patrick Lindesay was subjected to this captivity we cannot hope to discover; but, if considered as an exertion of the king's absolute power, it is wonderfully inconsistent with the freedom of debate displayed before the parliament, and the laudable impartiality with which the case was decided.

Being foiled in this leading case of Lord Lindesay, the other prosecutions against the barons of the late king's faction were suffered to drop, and the lords of the king's council, with more liberal policy, seemed rather disposed to obliterate the recollection of the civil war than to keep it alive by trials and prosecutions.

The Scottish historians of this period record with triumph the valiant exploits of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, a Scottish seaman, who attacked and defeated, with two vessels only, an English flotilla of five in number, who were interrupting the Scottish trade and plundering their merchant vessels. Henry VII., it is said, affecting to treat Wood's conduct as an act of piracy, offered a large reward for the capture of him. One Stephen Bull, a gallant English seaman, undertook the task with three good ships; but, after a long and desperate action, had the misfortune to be himself taken, and carried into Dundee. The prisoners were restored by James IV., with a courteous message to Henry VII., now on the throne of England, assuring him that the Scots could fight by sea as well as land.

The deeply-politic views of Henry VII. were uniformly founded on a peaceful basis; and having re-established in all points the truce with Scotland, he endeavored, by a union of the royal families, to convert that state of temporary tranquillity into a secure and lasting peace. This he proposed to effect by a union between his daughter and the young Scottish king. Nor was he disgusted when he found that the prejudices of the Scots made them pause upon accepting his offer, fearful even of the most advantageous proposals when they came from the old enemies of Scotland.

Meantime years glided away in ease and tranquillity. The Scottish nobility displayed an unusual degree of concord among themselves; and James at once gratified his own taste and theirs by maintaining a court splendid beyond the means of Scotland, had not the royal coffers still contained a portion of the hoards of James III., now neither wasted in idle refinements of music and architecture, nor re-

served to slumber in inactivity; but employed in expenses which served to connect the king with his nobles and with his people, by procuring pleasures which they could all enjoy. Unhappily, James IV., with a love of justice and affection for his people which he intimated by his whole administration, had also an admiration of chivalry, which he carried to romantic excess. Nothing delighted him so much as jousts and tournaments, and trials of skill at all military weapons; and he sought personal adventures by traversing the country in disguise, and throwing himself into situations which have been recorded in the songs and traditions of the time.

It was probably by an appeal to this romantic cast in James's disposition that the Scottish king was prevailed on to take up the cause of Perkin Warbeck, the pretended Duke of York, in 1496. He received this adventurer at the court of Scotland; he permitted him to wed a near relation to the crown, the daughter of the Earl of Huntley; acknowledged Perkin's claim to the kingdom of England as authentic; and supported him with an army, at the head of which he himself marched into Northumberland, expecting a general insurrection in favor of his ally. The expectations of James were entirely disappointed: no one joined with Perkin. The Scottish king gave a loose to his disappointment, and laid waste the country. Perkin affected compassion for the subjects whose allegiance he claimed, and interceded in their behalf. "You are too merciful," answered James with a sneer, "to interest yourself for a people who are so tardy in acknowledging you for their sovereign." These words intimated that James felt himself engaged in a losing adventure, which he soon afterward terminated by a truce with England.

In the previous negotiation, September 30, 1498, James firmly refused to deliver up Perkin Warbeck to Henry; but he dismissed him from his kingdom, to pursue elsewhere that series of adventures which ended with his life on the gallows at Tyburn. His unfortunate widow was honorably supported by Henry VII., and long distinguished at the English court

by the title of the White Rose, from her husband's claim to be the representative of the House of York.

The unceasing disturbances on the border every now and then seemed to threaten the duration of the tranquillity between the kingdoms, had not the impetuous and mettled temper of the Scottish king been matched with the calm, sagacious, and wary disposition of Henry, who suffered no quarrel arising out of mere punctilio to interfere with the plan which his wisdom conceived, and seemed as little disposed to take offence at James as an animal of great size and strength which endures with patience the petulances of one of the same species inferior in these qualities.

Meantime Scotland began to derive advantages from the duration of peace. A university, the second in the kingdom, that of St. Andrew's being the first, had been erected at Glasgow in 1453, under the pious care of Turnbull, bishop of that see. A third seat of learning was now, in 1500, founded by Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen. Nor were the labors of these learned seminaries in vain: learning began to be understood, cultivated, and patronized. Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, made an excellent translation of Virgil's "Ænid"; and Dunbar, the Scottish Chaucer, appeared at court, with a power both of heroic and humorous poetry no way unworthy the bard of Woodstock. James IV., himself a poet, loved and encouraged the Muses; and from what remains of the strains of the day it is obvious he permitted the satirists to take considerable freedoms with his own foibles rather than their vein should be interrupted or their spirit checked by any severity of restriction. In a prince like James IV. such a license shows an honest consciousness that his merits were sufficient to redeem his reputation, and that he could with safety soar above and neglect the petty artillery of the satirists.

The king had his father's taste for architecture, though not in its excess. He improved the palaces of Stirling and Falkland. Young and unmarried, he engaged too much in licentious pleasures. But his regard for the Church was not

diminished; and, after the fashion of the time, it was testified by the foundation of monasteries and other ecclesiastical establishments. James never lost a deep sense of remorse for the share which he had been caused to take in his father's defeat. He wore, by way of penance, an iron belt round his body, to which he added a certain weight every year which he lived. He also yearly dedicated part of Lent to strict retreat into some monastery, where rigid prayer, fasting, and acts of penance, were unsparingly employed to expiate the crime which afflicted the king's conscience. These dark intervals must have made a singular contrast with the busy course of James's ordinary life, which was spent in the active discharge of the administration of justice, and other kingly duties; while each interval of leisure was employed in the princely pleasures of the chase, the ball-room, and the tilt-yard. To keep pace with other sovereigns, who affected forming orders of knighthood, in which they themselves should preside, like Arthur at his Round Table, or Charlemagne among his Paladins, James established the Order of St. Andrew, assuming the badge of the thistle, which since that time has been the national emblem of Scotland.

James IV., being now about thirty years of age, began perhaps to desire a more domestic life than he had hitherto led; the rather that the English princess Margaret, who, when the treaty was first proposed, had been a mere child, was now rising to the years of womanhood. In 1503, an important treaty was concluded, the effects of which reached deep into futurity, and did justice to the wisdom of Henry VII., by whom it had been so long urged with such patience and perseverance. Thirty thousand angel-nobles were to be paid as the queen of Scotland's dowry, and a jointure of two thousand pounds sterling was to be secured to her in case of her surviving James. This marriage treaty was accompanied by a peace between England and Scotland, the first which had existed since that of Northampton in 1332. The articles were equitable, without advantage on either side,

unless in one instance, by which Scotland renounced in future her right to the town of Berwick.

In consequence of these important arrangements, the English princess Margaret was conveyed to Scotland with befitting splendor, in 1504. James came flying to meet her at the abbey of Newbattle with bridegroom haste, which a spectator compares to the speed of a falcon darting on his prey. The marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, and with all the dignity of chivalry. The Highland and border chiefs took the opportunity of challenging and fighting to extremity; the death of such turbulent subjects being little regretted by the king or the statesmen, the latter of whom probably looked on the contest with an eye of policy rather than of romantic admiration.

Important national regulations succeeded these festivities. The total suppression of the dignity of the lord of the Isles was a remarkable, and, considering the arrogance and insubordination of these petty kings, a very important incident. John, lord of the Isles, having been deprived of the earldom of Ross, and his continental dominions of Knapdale and Cantire, in 1476, had submitted to restrictions of his power, and promised amendment of his conduct. In 1480, this intractable prince again renewed his secret negotiations with England. He had been summoned to make answer for these intrigues before the Scottish parliament; but the divisions of James III.'s reign had prevented the matter from being insisted on. In James IV.'s vigorous reign, forfeiture was denounced against this insular prince, whose lordship of the Isles became thus an appanage of the crown. Measures were now taken to extend to these distant and disorderly regions the advantage of an equal distribution of justice. This was, however, only sowing seeds of civilization, which it required three centuries and a half, and a variety of contingencies, to bring to maturity. The destruction of this great family, formerly the natural leaders of misdoers, and the refuge of the lawless and ungovernable of every description, was a main step attained to the king-

doms; and the disorders of the Highlands and the Isles were afterward neither so universal, so frequent, nor so perilous.

Other statutes of this period show that the Scottish legislators possessed wisdom superior to their age, and evinced a disposition to accelerate the improvement of the country by legislative enactment. A just statute corrected the abuse of naming one inferior species of crime in the pardons or remissions which were too often granted for the purpose of afterward using the same remission to cover an offence of deeper dye. Another declared no pardon should be granted to deliberate murderers. Another provided for the punishment of faithless notaries. There is a series of regulations for the improvement of rural economy, which imposes a heavier mulct than before on the destroyers of wood, "the forests of Scotland being (it is alleged) utterly destroyed." For the same reason, every heritor is directed to plant at least an acre of wood, to form parks and enclosures, construct fish-ponds, stock rabbit-warrens and dove-cots, and plant orchards. One statute especially testifies the inclination of these wise legislators to cultivate the arts of peace, since it permits the king, and, by a supplemental provision, all other landholders, to let in feu any portion of land which he might please. The vassal, in this species of tenure, was exempted altogether from military service, and held subject to the payment of a quit-rent in money or produce in lieu of other prestations. The churchmen availed themselves of this important privilege, to the great increase of the value of their lands, and the general cultivation of the country. Lastly, the riches which might be derived from the Scottish fisheries did not escape the prescient eye of these statesmen, and they made regulations which showed them sensible of their value; though from want of boats, nets, and, above all, of money, little could be done to realize their patriotic wishes.

James IV. has been already mentioned as a patron of the Scottish navy, which, under Andrew Wood and the two Bartons, showed much alacrity and energy both on the coasts of Holland, of the Baltic, of Portugal, and elsewhere. It would

seem that in these times the rules of war were not so well understood by sea as by land; since the vessels, even of friendly powers, often met and fought on the ocean, for the same reason, doubtless, which makes an Arab declare that there is no friend in the desert, or a buccaneer that there is no peace under the line. In several of these skirmishes the Scottish mariners defended bravely the honor of their flag; and one of them accelerated the fatal war in which James ended his life.

It was his love for nautical affairs which led King James into the mistaken ambition of desiring to possess the largest ship then in the world. The Great Michael, for such was her name, exhausted all the oak-forests of Fife (that of Falkland excepted), and "cumbered all Scotland" before she could be got to sea. A cannon-ball, discharged against her by the king's order, could not penetrate her sides, which were ten feet in thickness. She was twelve-score feet in length, and thirty-six in wideness. The crew of this immense galleon amounted to no less than three hundred mariners to manage her on the sea, and a thousand soldiers to combat on board of her. It is easy to see that if the expense employed on the construction of this unwieldy wooden fortress had been bestowed upon the equipment of eight such vessels as were commanded by Sir Andrew Wood, Scotland would have risen to that rank among maritime powers which she was entitled to claim from the advantages of a seacoast full of creeks, roadsteads and harbors. But the construction of this huge vessel plainly shows that James erred in the mode by which he endeavored to attain his object.

The purpose of the king was to raise the character of the Scottish marine force; and, as above observed, it was in a great measure his attention to naval affairs which led that prince to a fatal breach with England, the more easily effected that the sceptre of that country was no longer swayed by the cautious Henry VII., but by his son Henry VIII., whose temper was as fiery and haughty as that of the Scottish monarch himself.

A Portuguese squadron having made prize of a Scottish vessel belonging to John Barton, letters of reprisal were granted by James to Barton's sons. The exploits of the Bartons in revenge of their father's wrongs had extended not merely to Portuguese vessels, but to English ships bound for Portugal, and several such vessels had been taken and plundered by them. In retaliation for such unjustifiable depredations, the sons of the Earl of Surrey, Lord Thomas and Sir Edmund Howard, were despatched by Henry VII. with two ships to bring the pirate into an English port. Sir Andrew Barton, the elder brother, boldly encountered the two young noblemen, and maintained a desperate combat, encouraging his men with his whistle till his death induced them to surrender.

Another quarrel between the sister countries, in 1511, rested on the following grounds:—Some English borderers murdered Sir Robert Kerr, warden of the middle marches of Scotland. One of the assassins, named Lilburn, with Heron of Ford, the brother of another commonly called the Bastard Heron, was delivered up to the Scottish king by order of Henry VII.; but immediately upon the death of that wise prince the other accomplices of the murder began to show themselves publicly on the border. Andrew Kerr, the son of the slain Sir Robert, employed two of his own followers, named Tait, to obtain the revenge which he had in vain sought from the justice of England. They succeeded in their mission, and brought back with them into Scotland the head of Starked, one of the slayers of Sir Robert. Kerr caused it to be exposed at the cross of Edinburgh. But the Bastard Heron still lived and was suffered to go at liberty, and on that and other accounts James IV. nourished a deep resentment against his brother-in-law of England.

His discontent was at the height when an envoy from France arrived at Edinburgh, who availed himself of the power attained by largesses in the Scottish court, and promises and flattery over the romantic spirit of the king himself, to engage James in an alliance offensive and defensive with

France, the ultimate consequence of which was sure to be a war with England. Yet the rupture was for some time suspended; for Henry, whose purpose it was to invade France, was averse to leave his country exposed to an incursion from Scotland; and James hesitated on the threshold of a rash undertaking. Female interference at length determined the fate of the chivalrous James. The queen of France wrote a letter, in which, terming the king of Scotland her knight, she besought his assistance on her behalf in the manner and tone of a distressed princess of romance imploring the succor of some valiant paladin. A ring from the queen's finger was the pledge of faith by which she conjured James to risk but one day's march into England for her sake. At the same time, a more solid present of fourteen thousand crowns contributed something to remove the want of funds which otherwise might possibly have interfered with the projected expedition.

James's first step to gratify the queen of France was to despatch a naval force to that kingdom, from which the greater part of the fleet never returned, the consequences of the battle of Flodden having deprived the government of Scotland of the energy which ought to have been exerted for their preservation, so that the vessels rotted neglected in French harbors, or were sold at a low price to the French king.

James, however, meditated a more direct mode of assisting his ally and chastising Henry, whom he was now disposed to consider as an enemy rather than a brother-in-law. The Scottish monarch sent a herald to France, with a manifesto to be delivered to the English king, then preparing to lay siege to Terouenne. In this species of defiance were recapitulated the capture of Barton, the murder of Kerr, the detention of a legacy bequeathed by Henry VII. to his daughter Margaret, with other grievances; and it concluded with summoning the king of England instantly to desist from the invasion of France on pain of seeing Scotland take arms in the cause of that kingdom. The English king,

highly offended both at the matter of this remonstrance and the terms in which it was couched, returned an answer, in which he upbraided James with perfidy, and even perjury, in having broken the perpetual peace which at his nuptials he had sworn to observe toward England; he treated with scorn Scotland's pretence of interfering in his quarrel with France, and concluded with retorting defiance.

In the meanwhile the war was already commenced. Lord Home, who held the dignity of high chamberlain of Scotland, entered England with a considerable force, burned several villages, and collected much prey. It was not, however, his destiny to carry his booty safe into Scotland. In marching heedlessly through the extensive flat north of Wooler, called Millfield Plain, the Scottish commander fell into an ambush of archers who lay concealed among the long broom, and was surprised, defeated, and put to flight, leaving his brother and many of his followers prisoners in the hands of the enemy.

James, stung to the heart with the loss which he had sustained, and the dishonor which Home's defeat had cast upon his arms, made preparations for war on an extensive scale. He summoned the whole array of his kingdom to meet him at Edinburgh in arms, each man bringing with him provisions for the space of forty days. This was the utmost strength he could assemble, and the longest period for supporting the war which he could make provision for. The king was obeyed, for his rule was highly popular; but it was with regret on the part of those who could think or reason upon the subject of the war, by all of whom it was considered as impolitic, if not unjust.

Omens, also, are said to have occurred calculated to impress the superstitious public with fearful anticipations of the fate of the campaign. Voices as of a herald were heard at night at the market-cross of Edinburgh, where citations are usually made, summoning the king and his nobles by name to appear within sixty days at the bar of Pluto. In the church of Linlithgow also, while King James was per-

forming his devotions, a man in a singularly-shaped eastern dress, assuming the character of the Apostle John, solemnly warned the king that if he persevered in his purposed expedition it would terminate in his ruin. The warning was delivered in a slow and unabashed voice and manner, and concluded with a warning menace against the king's indulgence in libertine amours. While all were astonished at the boldness of the messenger, he escaped from among them, so that he could not be apprehended. It is probable that this pageant, which seemed calculated to have effect on the superstitious temperament of James IV., was devised by some of the nobility who were hostile to the invasion of England. But the king proved, unhappily, inaccessible to fantastic omens, as well as to the dictates of reason and policy.

August 22, 1513, James entered England with as gallant an army as ever was led by a Scottish monarch; and the castle of Norham, with that of Wark, and the border towers of Etal and Ford, were successively taken. In the latter fortalice James made captive a lady, the wife of Heron of Ford, lord of the manor, who acquired so much influence over the amorous monarch as to detain him from the prosecution of his enterprise, while his army dwindled away, owing to the impatience of inaction in some, and the want of provisions experienced by all. The army was diminished to thirty thousand men, when James was aroused from his amorous dalliance by the approach of the Earl of Surrey at the head of a large force to defend the English frontiers. A herald brought a defiance to the monarch, in which the English lord stated that he was come to vindicate the death of Barton, and challenged the king of Scotland to combat. James's insane spirit of chivalry induced him to accept this romantic proposal, in spite of the remonstrances of his best counsellors, and, among others, of the old Earl of Angus, called Bell-the-Cat. "If you are afraid, Angus," said the king coldly in reply to his arguments, "you may go home." Angus would not abide in the camp after such an affront: he departed with tears of anger and sorrow, leaving his two

sons and his followers with charge to stand by the king to the last.

It was on the 6th of September that James, removing from the western side of the river Till, took up his camp on the hill of Flodden, which closes in the northern extremity of Millfield Plain. In this advantageous ground he had the choice to fight or maintain the defensive at his pleasure. Surrey observed the advantages of the king's position, which, being very steep on the southern side, where the eminence sinks abruptly on the plain, was, in that quarter, inaccessible to an attack. Thus situated, the English commander, finding that provisions were scarce, and the country around wasted, determined by a decisive movement to lead his army round the flank of the Scottish king's position, and place himself on the north side of Flodden Hill; thus interposing the English army between King James and his own country. This march was not made without much risk, since during the circuit round the hill it necessarily exposed the flank of the Earl of Surrey's army to destructive attacks, had the Scottish king chosen to take the advantage which it afforded him. But James, more distinguished for chivalry in the lists than conduct in the field, suffered the English quietly to march round the extremity of his position, and remained inactive, until he saw Lord Surrey pass the river Till by a narrow bridge and a bad ford. Surrey, having crossed the river, continued his march eastward for a little way, then, forming his army in order of battle, with his front to the south, advanced toward the Scottish camp by a declivity much more gentle than that which ascends from the plain toward the southern ridge of the hill. The king then took his determination to fight, and put his army in order for that purpose. Each host was divided into four large bodies, and each had a reserve in the rear of the centre.

Of James's army the Earls of Huntley and Home led the extreme left wing, chiefly consisting of borderers. Next to them, on their right, were the Earls of Crawford and Montrose, whose followers were Highlanders. The king himself

commanded the third or central division. The fourth division, or right wing, was led by the Earls of Lennox and Argyle. All these bodies were separated by intervals, but kept the same front. The Earl of Bothwell commanded the reserve, which was posted behind the king's division: this force consisted of his own followers, and those of other chiefs in Lothian.

The English were nearly in the same order. Opposed to Huntley and Home were the two noble brothers, Sir Edmund Howard and High Admiral Sir Thomas. The centre was led by Surrey in person, and the reserve by Lord Dacres. Sir Edward Stanley commanded the left wing.

The fight began on the Scottish left wing, with an omen of good fortune which it did not long retain. Home, encountering the admiral with great fury, beat him to the ground, and had wellnigh dispersed his division, had it not been supported by Lord Dacres with the reserve of English cavalry. Their support was so timely and effectual that the Scots were kept at bay. The Highlanders, under Crawford and Montrose, rushed down the hill with disorderly haste, and were easily routed by the two Howards. Both the Scottish earls fell. During these conflicts the king's division engaged furiously with that of the Earl of Surrey, and, although overwhelmed with showers of arrows, the Scots made a most valiant defence. The Earl of Bothwell, with the reserve, bravely supported them, and the combat became very sanguinary. In the meanwhile Sir Edward Stanley, with the men of Cheshire and Derbyshire, forming the English right wing, totally dispersed their immediate opponents, the division under Lennox and Argyle. Both these earls fell, and Stanley, pressing onward over the ground they occupied, and wheeling to his own left, placed his division in the rear of King James's broken ranks; and by an attack in that direction seconded the efforts of Surrey, who was engaged with the Scottish army in front. But these broken and bleeding battalions consisted of the pride and flower of the Scottish gentry, who, throwing themselves

into a circle so as to resist on all points, defended themselves with honorable desperation. No one thought of abandoning the king, who, with useless valor, fought and struggled amid the foremost in the conflict. Night at least separated the combatants; and the Scottish, like a wounded warrior, whom his courage sustains so long as the conflict lasts, but who faints with loss of blood when it is ended, became sensible of the extent of their loss, and melted in noiseless retreat from the field of battle in which the king and his nobles had perished.

There lay slain on the fatal field of Flodden twelve Scottish earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers—fifty chiefs, knights, and men of eminence, and about ten thousand common men. Scotland had sustained defeats in which the loss had been numerically greater, but never one in which the number of the nobles slain bore such a proportion to those of the inferior rank. The cause was partly the unusual obstinacy of the long defence, partly that when the common people began, as already mentioned, to desert their standards, the nobility and gentry were deterred by shame and a sense of honor from following their example.

The Scots historians long contested the fact that James IV. fell in the field of Flodden; and denied that the body which the English exhibited as the corpse of that unhappy king was in reality that of their sovereign. Some supposed that, having escaped from the slaughter, James had gone to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, to appease the resentment of Heaven, which he conceived had sent his last misfortune in vengeance for his accession to his father's death. But there is no doubt, in the present day, that the body of James was found and carried to Berwick by the Lord Dacres, to whom the king must have been personally well known. It was afterward interred in the monastery of Sheen or Richmond. The corpse was pierced with two arrows, and had received the mortal wound from a bill or battle-axe. This amiable but ill-fated monarch left two lawful children, James, his successor, and Alexander, a posthumous infant, who did not

live two years. James IV. was the only Scottish king that fell in battle with the English since the defeat and death of Malcolm III. near Alnwick. He fell in his forty-first year, after he had reigned twenty-six years.

This may be no improper time to take a rapid view of the two countries as they stood contrasted with each other, in their civil and military systems, in customs and in manners. We must be understood to speak only of the lowland countries of Scotland; for the Highlands were as different from the Saxon part of their countrymen as they were in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

War was almost constantly the state in which the sister kingdoms stood in relation to each other; so much so, that the two portions of the same island most fitted by their relative position to be governed by the same laws and rules might be considered as looking upon each other in the light of natural enemies. In such a contest, it would be idle to inquire whether either nation possessed over the other any superiority in strength of person or bravery of disposition; advantages which nature distributes with impartiality among the children of the same soil. Different degrees of discipline, different species of arms, different habits of exercise, may be distinctly traced as the foundation of advantages occasionally observable either in the victories of the English over the Scots, or in those obtained by the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island over their southern neighbors.

The superiority of the English arose from two principal circumstances: first, the better discipline and conduct of their armies, which at an early period manœuvred with considerable art and address, for which we shall presently show some reason; and, secondly, on their unrivalled skill in the use of the long bow, the most formidable weapon of the age, which neither Scot, Frenchman, Fleming, nor Spaniard, could use with the same effect as the yeomen of England. These men possessed a degree of independence and wealth

altogether unknown to the same class of society in other kingdoms of Europe. They placed their pride in having the most excellent and best-constructed bows and shafts, to the formation of which great attention and nicety were necessary; and they had attained the art of handling and using them with the greatest possible effect. Their wealth enabled them to procure weapons of the first order, and their mode of education brought the use of them to the highest pitch of perfection. Bishop Latimer says of himself that, like other children, he was trained to shoot first with a small bow suitable to his age, and afterward with one fitted to his increasing strength; and that consequently he acquired a degree of skill which far surpassed that of those who never handled a bow till they came to be young men. Neither was the shape of the weapon less fitted for its purpose. The bow was of considerable length and power, and the arrow, constructed with a small head of sharp steel, was formed so as to fly a great distance and with much force. On the contrary, the Highlanders were the most numerous, if not the only archers in Scotland. These mountaineers carried a weak bow, short and imperfectly strung, which discharged a heavy arrow with a clumsy barb, three or four times the weight of an English shaft. To these advantages on the part of the English must be added the dexterity with which archery was practiced by their yeomen, who always drew the bowstring to the right ear, while the bowmen of other nations pulled it only to the breast, and thus discharged a shorter shaft from a much less formidable bow. The superiority of the English in archery cannot be better expressed than by the Scottish proverb, that each southern archer bore at his belt the lives of twenty-four Scots, such being the number of arrows with which he was usually supplied.

In the possession of much greater wealth, the English had another advantage over their neighbors scarcely less effectual than that of their archery. This enabled them at pleasure to summon into the field considerable bodies of mercenaries, either horse or foot, whose trade was arms,

and who maintained themselves by selling their services to those who could best afford to pay for them. It was natural that such bands, who were constantly in active service, should be much better acquainted with the art of war and the discipline of the times than the natives of Scotland, who only occasionally adopted the profession of arms. What was even of greater importance was the habit of obedience in military matters which these men had learned to practice, and which (provided always they were regularly paid) rendered them prompt and obedient to orders, and amenable to discipline. The English armies were, especially after Henry VII.'s time, augmented by bands from Flanders, Spain, Italy, and the most warlike countries then in the world, led by commanders whom long experience had made completely acquainted with the art of war, which was their only profession, as the camp was their only home. Their discipline was an example to the native troops of England, and showed them the advantage to be derived from implicit obedience during the campaign and on the field of battle. All these troops were placed under the command of a general of approved abilities, who received his orders from the king and council, presenting thus the absolute authority which is requisite to direct the movements of an army.

Besides this peculiar advantage of hiring regular troops, the wealth of England enabled her chivalry to come to the field in full panoply, mounted on horses fit for service, and composed of men-at-arms certainly not inferior to any which Europe could boast. She had also at command money, stores, provisions, ammunition, artillery, and all that is necessary to enable an army to take and to keep the field.

The Scottish armies, on the other hand, were composed of the ordinary inhabitants of the country, who, unless they chanced to have a few French men-at-arms, were destitute of any force approaching to regular soldiers. Their own men-at-arms were few and ill-appointed; and though they had in their armies numerous troops of hardy horses, they were too light for the actual battle. They always fought

on foot, a circumstance which exposed their broad masses of spearmen still more to devastation by the English archers, who could remain at a distance and pour on them their fatal shot without encountering the brunt of their pikes. Their hosts were, indeed, nominally under command of one general; but wanted all that united force and energy acquired by a large body acting with a common purpose and under the authority of a single individual. On the contrary, they rather consisted of a number of little armies under separate chiefs, unknown to or perhaps at variance with each other, and acknowledging no common head save the king, who was not always fit to command in person, and to whom implicit obedience was not always rendered.

These great advantages of superior address in the missiles of the period, and in superior wealth for the formation and support of armies, were particularly observable in general battles upon a large scale; which the Scots, in their impatience and poverty of means to keep the field, hazarded far more frequently than was politic, and received a succession of dreadful and sanguinary defeats, so numerous and apparently decisive that the reader may be surprised how they could escape the total subjugation which seemed so often impending. But Scotland, to balance these disadvantages, was superior in some circumstances highly favorable to the nation, when her armies could withhold themselves from general actions.

When the nations met with moderate numbers on each side, the dissensions so frequent in a Scottish camp did not exist, and the armed natives of some particular district fought with unanimity under a Stewart or a Douglas, whose command was acknowledged by all in the field. Such was the case at Otterbourne and many fields of combat, where neither host exceeded a few thousand men, and still more frequently where the numbers were much smaller. The Scottish inferiority in archery was on many occasions balanced by the advantage which their national weapon, the Scottish spear, gave them over the English bill, with which

that nation maintained the combat, when they joined battle hand to hand. The strength and solidity of the Scottish phalanx of spearmen, either for attack or resistance, is on many occasions commemorated. If it be considered that a thrusting weapon is far more formidable than one calculated for striking, and that where troops use the former they must close and serry their ranks, while, to have room to employ the latter, they must keep loose order, it is not assuming any superior strength or courage in the Scots to say that in small skirmishes and battles of a secondary class they asserted a considerable advantage over the English.

But, besides the mode of fighting hand to hand, it must be remembered that the Scots were natives of a severe climate and poor soil, brought up to endure rigor of weather, and accustomed to scantiness of food, while at the same time they waged their wars chiefly in their own country, a mountainous and barren region, with whose recesses they were familiar; and it will not be surprising that, endowed with a peculiar obstinacy of temper, they should have succeeded, against all other disadvantages, in maintaining such an equality with their powerful neighbors as enabled them repeatedly, by a series of skirmishes, ambuscades, and constant attacks on the invaders, to regain what the nation lost in great general actions.

In government and constitution the English and Scottish kingdoms had originally the strongest resemblance to each other, both being founded upon the feudal system, at this time universally adopted in Europe. Indeed, before the reign of Henry VII. there was little difference between them. But the wars of York and Lancaster had swept off such numbers of the English nobility, and left those who remained so shorn of their power, that that politic prince had no difficulty in executing his deep-laid purpose of depriving the aristocracy of their influence in the state, and raising the crown to that height of power which it displayed under the House of Tudor. This scheme, to which the introduction of mercenary troops instead of feudal levies greatly

contributed, was slowly and silently operating to increase the power of the crown and diminish that of the peers; and the boroughs and commons of England, whom the king favored, as a weight in his own scale, were yet more imperceptibly gaining consequence in the constitution. But in Scotland the crown was possessed of very little power, and the king could scarce be considered as more than the first baron of the kingdom, subject to be restrained, imprisoned, dethroned, and slain, at the pleasure of a turbulent aristocracy. It is true that, when the Scottish monarch possessed the love and affection of his peers, he was generally allowed considerable weight in the national councils; but the extent of his power usually rested on the degree of personal estimation in which he was held. James III. was repeatedly imprisoned, and finally deposed and murdered, by the same class of nobles (in some instances the very same individuals) who loved, honored, and obeyed his more popular son with such devotion that they followed him against their own better judgment to the fatal field of Flodden, in which with the flower of his kingdom he lost his life. The quiet and prosperity of the nation rested far too much on the personal character of the prince to be capable of much stability.

The difference between the condition of the lower orders in the two kingdoms was such as might be expected from the comparative point of civilization to which each had attained. In England, the merchants were possessed of great capital; the principal citizens were skilful and thriving; the ordinary ones substantial and easy, living under the protection of equal laws. The yeomen and farmers, in a great measure loosened from the dominion of their lords by the law against feudal retainers, and other laws in favor of personal freedom, were possessed of opulence, and employed themselves in improving the agriculture of the country, instead of following their lords to battle. In Scotland, this was all diametrically reversed. The towns, though encouraged by favorable laws, were languishing through the decay of commerce, for which the Scottish merchants had neither stock nor capital. Their

subjects of export were only hides, wool, and similar raw materials which the country afforded; and, as almost every necessary or convenience of life was imported from Flanders ready made, the balance of trade preponderated against the poorer country. Nor was improvement to be expected where neither skill nor labor was in demand, even had there been money to purchase them. The country was scarcely in a better condition than the towns. War being the constant state of the nation, the pursuits of agriculture were unavoidably postponed to the practice of arms. The farmers, who were in absolute dependence on the landholders, rode up and down the country in armor, attending upon their lords, while the labors of the farm were left to old men, women, and children. Bondmen were also employed in these domestic duties, unworthy, it was thought, of free hands. Yet the very rudeness of their character prevented the tenants from being oppressed beyond a certain limit. If a farmer took a lease over the head of another, at a rent which his poorer neighbor could not afford, the dispossessed agriculturist would kill his successor, to be revenged of his avaricious landlord. Numerous laws were made for repressing these evils, but in vain; the judges seldom had power, and often wanted will, to enforce them. The Scottish parliament saw the disease, and prescribed the remedy; but the difficulty lay in enforcing it.

In literature the Scots made a more equal competition with their neighbors than in other particulars. They used the same language with the English, though time had introduced a broader pronunciation.[1]

The Scottish parliament were so much impressed with the necessity of education that in 1494 they passed a remarkable edict, by which each baron and substantial freeholder was enjoined, under the penalty of twenty pounds, to send his eldest son to the grammar-school at six, or, at the utmost,

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[1] Gawain Douglas professes to write his language broad and plain, "keeping no southren but his own language," and makes an apology for using some words after the English pronunciation, which he would willingly have written purely and exclusively Scottish.

nine years of age. Having been competently grounded in Latin, the pupils were directed to study three years in the schools of philosophy and law, to qualify themselves for occupying the situation of sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other judges in ordinary.

That this singular statute had considerable influence we cannot doubt; yet the historian Mair or Major still continued to upbraid the nobility of his time with gross neglect of their children's education. But though a majority may have contemned literature and its pursuits, in comparison with the sports of the field or the exercises of war, there were so many who availed themselves of the opportunities of education as to leave a splendid proof of their proficiency. Dunbar, the Chaucer of Scotland, has, in his Lament for the Death of the Makers, enumerated eighteen poets of eminence in their time, who flourished from the earlier half of the fifteenth century down to the reign of James V. Many of their poems which have been preserved attest the skill and taste of the authors; but the genius of Dunbar and Gawain Douglas alone is sufficient to illuminate whole centuries of ignorance. In Latin composition, the names of Bishop Elphinstone, John Major, or Mair, Patrick Paulner, secretary to James IV., and Hector Boece, or Boëtius, an excellent scholar, though a most inaccurate and mendacious historian, attest the progress of Scottish literature.

The recent discovery of the lost classics had again awakened the light of learning in countries which had been long darkened with the shades of ignorance, and that light had penetrated into both parts of Britain. But deeper and more important speculations were rapidly expanding themselves. The art of printing, now in full action, had spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among thousands who had not been allowed to hear of them otherwise than as sophisticated by human inventions. The Church of Rome found herself in a situation where she was encumbered even by her own fortifications. Having once definitively avowed the doctrine that her decrees were infallible, it became impossible for her, with-

out inconsistency, to sacrifice to the advancing knowledge of the period opinions, rites, or practices adopted during ages of ignorance, or to make any compromise with the spirit of inquiry. Thus the clergy were driven upon the difficult task of smothering it by authority and violence.

Both England and Scotland received in secret the doctrines of the reformers, and in both they triumphed still further over the ancient religion. But the circumstances, manner, and modification in which the Protestant faith was introduced and received in the two kingdoms were so different, as seemed at first rather to separate them from each other than to bring nearer the natural and advantageous measure of their union. Heaven, in its own good time, had reserved this consummation as the happy point to which the nations were at length to be conducted by a series of transactions which promised a very different event.

CHAPTER XXII

Proclamation of the temporary Magistrates of Edinburgh—Moderate Conduct of the English—Convention of Estates—Duke of Albany proposed for Regent—Marriage of the Queen-Dowager with the Earl of Angus—He attempts to get the Regency in Right of his Wife; but Albany is preferred—His Character—Angus and the Queen Mother fly to England—Albany is unpopular—Trial and Execution of Lord Home—Albany returns to France—Murder of the Sieur de la Bastie—Feuds between the Hamiltons and Douglases—Skirmish called Cleanse the Causeway—Albany returns from France, and reassumes the Government: makes an inefficient Attempt to invade England, and again retires to France—Surrey takes Jedburgh—Albany returns for the third Time to Scotland: besieges Wark—Upon this Siege being shamefully raised, he returns, dismisses his Army, and leaves Scotland forever—Intrigues of Henry VIII. among the Scottish Nobility—Queen Margaret once more raised to Power—King James assumes the Government under her Guardianship—Her Aversion to her Husband Angus, and her imprudent Affection for Lord Methven—Angus returns and attains the supreme Power—Becomes tyrannical in his Administration—Battle of Melrose—Battle of Kirkliston—Supreme Sway of the Douglases—Escape of the King from Falkland—The Douglases are banished the Royal Presence, and compelled to fly into England—Comparison between the Fall of the House of Angus and that of the elder Branch of the Douglas Family

THE alarm which followed upon the melancholy event of the field of Flodden through the whole kingdom of Scotland was universal and appalling; but, fortunately, those who had to direct the energies of the state under circumstances so adverse were composed of a metal competent to the task. The commissioners who exercised the power of the magistracy of Edinburgh, for the lord provost and magistrates in person had accompanied the king to the fatal field, set a distinguished example of resolution. A

proclamation is extant, in which, speaking of the misfortune of the king and his host as a rumor of which there was yet no certainty, they appointed the females of respectability to pass to church, those of the lower rank to forbear clamoring and shrieking in the streets, and all men capable of bearing arms to take their weapons, and be ready, on the first tolling of the great bell of the city, to attend upon the magistrates, and contribute to the defence of the town. It is the language of Rome when Hannibal was at the gates.

The victorious English were, therefore, expected to appear shortly before the walls of the metropolis; but Surrey's army had been summoned together for defending their own frontier, not for the invasion of Scotland. The crown vassals did not remain in the field after their term of service had been rendered: and though the victory was gained, yet a loss of at least four thousand men had thinned the ranks of the conquerors. The absence of Henry VIII. prevented any vindictive measures, which he was likely enough to have taken, on finding the kingdom of his late brother by the recent defeat exposed to receive its doom at the hand of a conqueror.

A general council of the Scottish nobles was convoked at Perth (October, 1513), to concert what national measures ought to be adopted for the government of the kingdom at this exigency. The number of the nobles who gave attendance was few, and the empty seats and shortened roll gave melancholy evidence of the extent of the late loss. The queen was readily admitted to the regency, a compliment which might be intended to conciliate her brother Henry. It had not, however, that effect. Letters arrived from France, by which the king of England strictly commanded and fiercely urged that the success at Flodden should be followed up by repeated inroads upon the Scottish frontiers, where a desolating though indecisive war was maintained accordingly.

Driven to despair by the severity of Henry, the Scottish council began to look toward France, and to turn their eyes

to a prince of the blood royal, now resident there, and next heir to the crown of Scotland, had James IV. died childless. This was John, duke of Albany, son of that Alexander, duke of Albany, who was brother to James III., and who, having been declared a traitor for attaching himself to England, had ended his days in France. To this Duke John a strong party in Scotland proposed to assign the regency, which they wished no longer to intrust with a female and an Englishwoman, sister to a monarch who used his success so unsparingly. Whatever efforts might have been made to support Margaret in the office to which the king's will had admitted her, they became unavailing by her marrying the Earl of Angus as soon as she had recovered from her confinement, in which she bore a posthumous child to James IV. A marriage so soon after the death of her royal husband was prejudicial to her reputation, and, as it placed her personally under the control of a subject, rendered her incapable of holding and exercising the sovereign power of regent.

In some respects, indeed, her choice could not be amended. Earl Archibald of Angus was grandson and successor to him whom we have so often distinguished by the name of Bell-the-Cat. His father and uncle had fallen at Flodden; his aged grandfather had carried his sorrows for Scotland, and for his own loss of two gallant sons, into the shade of religious retirement. This young man, therefore, was at the head of the second branch of the House of Douglas, which had risen to a degree of power destined once more to make their sovereign tremble. Angus was also all that could win a lady's eye; he was splendid in attire, retinue, and housekeeping; handsome, brave, and active. But he had the faults of his family, being ambitious and desirous of power; and he had those of his youth, being headlong and impetuous in his passions, wild and unrestrained in his conduct. He did not pay the queen, who was some years older than himself, that deference which Margaret might have expected from decorum if not from affection, and at best was a negligent and faithless husband. His ambition aspired to main-

tain his wife's claims to the regency, although forfeited, as already said, by her second marriage.

But the preferable claim of Albany was maintained by the Scottish nobility, who asserted the right of the next in succession to rule the kingdom during the minority of the monarch. Albany had, indeed, an elder brother; but as a divorce after his birth had passed between his parents, for being related within the forbidden degrees, he was regarded as illegitimate. The right of this prince to the chief government was in an especial manner supported by the Earl of Arran, head of the House of Hamilton, and connected with the royal family by his mother, Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of King James II., who, when widow of the fallen favorite, Thomas Boyd, earl of Arran, had married the first Lord Hamilton. The title of her first husband was conferred upon her son by the second, who thus became the first earl of Arran of the name of Hamilton. This powerful nobleman, waiving some pretensions which he himself might have made to the regency, added great weight to that party which pleaded the rights of Albany. In 1515, the Duke of Albany came over to Scotland, accordingly, and was installed as regent. In the same year the lingering war with England was put an end to by the inclusion of Scotland in the peace which had been agreed upon between France and that country.

The Regent Albany, bred in the court of Francis I., and a personal favorite of that monarch, was more of a courtier than a soldier or a statesman; and the winning qualities of vivacity and grace of manners which had gained him favor and applause while in France were lost on the rude nobility of Scotland. He possessed the pride of high birth, and the command of considerable wealth, for his wife had been heiress of the county of Auvergne; but his talents were of a mean order, and he was alike insolent and pusillanimous.

Albany was not long in showing that he was about to direct the power of regent, now that he had obtained the

office, against Angus and his wife, by whom his ascent to the dignity had been opposed. He obtained an order from the parliament that the royal children should be delivered up to him. Margaret, after a vain resistance, was compelled to place the infant king and his short-lived brother Alexander under the suspicious care of an aspiring kinsman; and her husband Angus hastened to the border, to consult with Lord Home upon some means of withstanding the oppressive severity of the regent's government. Albany, however, was powerful enough to disconcert all their measures, even though Arran, deserting the regent's party, was so mutable as to make common cause with Home. The queen-mother, far advanced in her pregnancy, was driven into England, where she was delivered of a female infant, in the miserable turret of a Northumbrian baron, from which she afterward took refuge in her brother's court. The circumstance, however, of having been born in England was of considerable advantage to the Lady Margaret Douglas in calculating her proximity to the English crown.

Meantime the regent became unpopular. The younger of the two Scottish princes died in his custody, not without foul suspicion of neglect or poison. The nation sympathized with the distresses and danger of the royal family; the dissatisfaction at Albany's government became universal; and the king's person was taken from his custody, and placed in the hands of certain select peers, to whose loyalty he might be safely intrusted. The regent found his power restricted and his situation unpleasant, and entertained thoughts of withdrawing from the rude kingdom which he had undertaken to govern. He seems to have suspended his purpose only till he made the experiment, whether by one grand exertion of authority he might not reduce to obedience those troublesome peers by whom his government had been repeatedly disturbed. This blow descended on the Lord Home, who, being the favorite of the late king, and the close ally of Angus, had maintained in the eastern marches a resistance to the regent's authority, and a constant communication with

England. In 1516, being imprudent enough to trust his person and that of his brother within reach of the regent's authority, Lord Home was seized, tried, and executed. But this exertion of power had no effect, save that of exciting, as we shall hereafter see, the vindictive rage of the friends of the deceased victim of justice or of vengeance. In the year in which Home was beheaded, Albany obtained or extorted the permission of the estates to pay a visit to France. At the same time, although the duke's name was retained as regent, the real power was lodged in a council, in which Angus, having now returned to Scotland, held a seat. His wife, Queen Margaret, was received back with all due honor, and there seemed reason to think that something like a steady government was at length formed.

The contrary, however, was soon visible. Anthony d'Arcy, Seigneur de la Bastie, a French knight of great courage and fame, had been left by the regent in the important situation of warden of the eastern marches, and had taken up the duties of the office with a strict hand. But Home of Wedderburn, a powerful chief of the name, could not brook that an office usually held by the head of his house should be lodged in the hands of a foreigner dependent on the regent, by whom Lord Home had been put to death. Eager for revenge, the border chieftain waylaid the new warden with an ambuscade of armed men. Seeing himself beset, the unfortunate d'Arcy endeavored to gain the castle of Dunbar; but having run his horse into a morass near Dunse, he was overtaken and slain (1517). Home knitted the head to his saddle-bow by the long locks which had been so much admired in courtly assemblies, and placed it on the ramparts of Home Castle, as a pledge of the vengeance exacted for the death of the late lord of that fortress.

The peace of the kingdom was also disturbed by a constant dissension between the parties of Hamilton and Douglas, in other words, between the Earls of Angus and Arran. They used arms against each other without hesitation. At

length, January, 1520, a parliament being called at Edinburgh, the Earl of Angus appeared with four hundred of his followers, armed with spears. The Hamiltons, not less eager and similarly prepared for strife, repaired to the capital in equal or superior numbers. They assembled in the house of the chancellor Beaton, the ambitious archbishop of Glasgow, who was bound to the faction of Arran by that nobleman having married the prelate's niece. Gawain Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, a son of Earl Bell-the-Cat, and the celebrated translator of Virgil, labored to prevent the factions from coming to blows. He applied to Beaton himself, as official conservator of the laws and peace of the realm. Beaton, laying his hand upon his heart, protested upon his conscience he could not help the affray which was about to take place. "Ha! my lord," said the advocate for peace, who heard a shirt of mail rattle under the bishop's rochet, "methinks your conscience clatters." The bishop of Dunkeld then had recourse to Sir Patrick Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Arran, who willingly attempted to exhort his kinsmen to the preservation of peace, until he was rudely upbraided with reluctance to fight by Sir James Hamilton, natural son to his brother, and a man of a fierce and sanguinary disposition. "False bastard!" said Sir Patrick, in wrath, "I will fight to-day where thou darest not be seen."

There were now no more thoughts of peace, and the Hamiltons, with their western friends and allies, rushed in fury up the lanes which led from the Cowgate, where the bishop's palace was situated, intending to take possession of the High Street. But the Douglases had been beforehand with them, and already occupied the principal street, with the advantage of attacking their enemies as they issued in disorder from the narrow closes or lanes. Such of Angus's followers also as had not lances were furnished with them by the favor of the citizens of Edinburgh, who handed them over their windows. These long weapons gave the Douglases great advantage over their enemies, and rendered it easy to bear them down, as they struggled breathless and

disordered out of the heads of the lanes. Nor was this Angus's only piece of fortune: Home of Wedderburn, also a great adherent of the Douglases, arrived while the battle was yet raging, and, bursting his way through the Netherbow Gate at the head of his formidable borderers, appeared in the street in a decisive moment. The Hamiltons were driven out of the city, leaving upward of seventy men dead, one of whom was Sir Patrick Hamilton, the advocate for peace. The Earl of Arran and his natural son were so far endangered, that, meeting a collier's horse, they were fain to throw off its burden, and, both mounting the same miserable animal, they escaped through a ford in the loch which then defended the northern side of the city.

The consequences of this skirmish, which, according to the humor of the age, was long remembered by the name of *Cleanse the Causeway*, raised Angus for a little time to the head of affairs. But, unable to reacquire the lost affection of his wife, the queen-dowager, the latter, in her aversion to her husband and resentment of his infidelities and neglects, joined in soliciting the return of Albany, an event which took place December 3, 1521. Angus and his party, alarmed at his arrival, and remembering the fate of Lord Home and his brother, made a precipitate retreat from Edinburgh, and took refuge in England. A new change of administration followed with little advantage to the unfortunate and ill-governed nation. Placing himself at the head of a party which might be called the French interest in Scotland, Albany, ignorant of and indifferent to the real interests of his country, endeavored so to rule the kingdom as might best serve the purposes of France, her powerful ally.

The flimsy species of peace with England, which had hitherto been maintained by ill-observed truces, did not prevent the most murderous and desolating ravages between the borderers on both sides. Albany appeared on the western frontier at the head of an army of eighty thousand men; but, cowardly in war as he was presuming in peace, having

had a single interview with Lord Dacres, he consented to sheathe his sword, and omitted the opportunity of doing some considerable service, which was the rather to have been expected, as the king of England had no army on foot to encounter that of Scotland.

The regent, feeling himself a second time the object of general dislike and contempt, again escaped from the tumultuous scene, and retired to France, leaving a council of regency to sustain as well as they might the war which his rashness had awakened, and to collect as they best could the materials of defence which he had dissipated and thrown away. In the spring of 1523, Henry VIII. sent the Earl of Surrey to the borders with a considerable army, to repay the threatened invasion of Albany. This enterprising general resolved to sweep the Scottish frontiers, and desolate them so effectually as to render them totally uninhabitable for nine miles beyond the border of England.

With this purpose he advanced upon Jedburgh, in spite of the opposition of about fifteen hundred borderers, who skirmished so boldly with Surrey's vanguard that he terms them the boldest and most ardent men-at-arms whose feats he ever witnessed, adding that, if forty thousand such soldiers could be assembled, it would be hard to withstand them. Driving this handful of Scots before him, Surrey reached Jedburgh, which was taken by storm, after a gallant defence. The fine abbey was also carried by assault, after it had been valiantly held out till late in the evening. The ruins still exhibit marks of the injuries which were then inflicted. This town, then rich and spacious, was set on fire by the English soldiery. But the victors were thrown into much confusion through the wilfulness of Lord Dacres, who commanded the cavalry. This nobleman did not choose to bring his horsemen within the fortified camp, which Surrey had appointed for his quarters. The consequence was that in the evening the horse-quarter was surprised, and most of the horses cut loose from their picketing. The animals, finding themselves at liberty, ran furiously past the fortified

camp of Surrey, whose soldiers manned their defences, and, unable to discern the true cause of the alarm, shot both with bows and guns against the Scottish assailants as they thought. Many horses were carried off by the Scottish women, who fearlessly seized them in the scuffle. So many steeds were slain or taken that about a thousand English cavaliers were seen to walk afoot the next day.

While the two countries were thus engaged in fierce contention, both Scots and English were astonished to hear of Albany's return, with a small French army, in number between four and five thousand men, and a quantity of arms and treasure. With this new display of wealth and auxiliaries the regent endeavored to engage the Scottish nobles in a common effort against England, and he succeeded in obtaining a promise of firm support from the parliament. Including his French auxiliaries, Albany assembled a force estimated at sixty thousand. With this large army he formed the siege of Wark Castle, in 1523. The assailants took the outer circuit of the castle, and attacked the keep; but the Earl of Surrey advancing from Barmoor Wood, the Duke of Albany shamefully raised the siege, and retreated at the head of his well-appointed and numerous army, which he soon after dismissed. He retired to Edinburgh, and having dissipated the treasures which he brought with him, and shown to a demonstration his unfitness to command an army, he made his final retreat to France, loaded with the curses and reproaches of the nation from which he derived his ancestry.

After the flight of Albany the English interest once more began to predominate in the Scottish councils; for Henry VIII. had again adopted his father's policy, and instead of endeavoring to conquer Scotland, and render it a part of his dominions by dint of arms, was contented to aim at maintaining such an influence in the councils of that country as a wealthy and powerful nation may always find means of acquiring in the government of one that is poorer and weaker than herself. The present revolution seemed the

more favorable to the interest of England, since it raised Margaret once more to an efficient power in the Scottish government. She came from Stirling to Edinburgh, and announced that her son, James V., now a boy of twelve years old, was determined to take the sovereign power into his own hands. A great many of the Scottish peers, upon hearing this information, associated themselves for protection of the young king's government, and for declaring the termination of Albany's regency. It was clear, notwithstanding, as the independent government of a boy of twelve years old could be only nominal, that James's councils must be guided and directed by some familiar advice, and nothing could be more natural than that he should find that counsellor in an affectionate mother.

The English king and his minister Wolsey at this crisis anxiously desired that Margaret would consent to a reconciliation with her husband Angus, in whose attachment to the interests of England they had great confidence, and whose masculine judgment they supposed to be necessary in aiding the queen-dowager to support the weight of government. But the passions of Margaret had some of the fickleness and all the impetuosity of her brother's.

She retained a deep resentment and even detestation against her husband, and gave her brother plainly to understand that any attempt to intrude Angus on her society, or even the granting him licenses to return from England, would forfeit Henry's share of the interest which the last revolution had given her in the affairs of Scotland. The truth was that Margaret with an unmatronly levity had become enamored of a young gentleman named Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew, lord Evandale, and already entertained hopes of ridding herself of Angus by a divorce, and then conferring her hand upon this younger favorite. In the meantime she raised the favored youth to the dignity of Lord Treasurer of Scotland. By such light conduct Margaret alienated the affections of the nobles, while she increased their discontent by excluding them from her coun-

cils, and listening only to the advice of her lover, and other inexperienced young men.

Blaming the conduct of his sister, and expecting a more firm support from the government of Angus, whose misfortunes might be supposed to have taught him wisdom, Henry now countenanced the return of the earl, in hopes that he might still be able to effect some reconciliation, ostensible at least, between him and the queen. This was found totally impossible; and Angus, having determined to destroy his wife's power if he could not share it, attempted to supplant her authority, first by an escalade of the town of Edinburgh, in which he was assisted by Scott of Buccleuch, and other border chiefs, and afterward by a union with the wily and able Archbishop Beaton, with whom he effected a reconciliation, and formed a party, the object of which was to free the young king from the tutelage of his mother. The struggle ended in the youthful monarch's being committed to the charge of a council of lords, the queen being allowed to preside at their sittings, a power which consisted in appearance rather than reality.

This revolution was completed, when the king, having arrived at the age of fourteen years, made choice of Angus, who had, by the most sedulous attention, obtained great influence over his mind, for administering the royal authority. But this state of things by degrees terminated in the absolute ascendency of Angus. As some atonement to the imprudent queen for having thus expelled her from all share of power, he ceased to oppose the divorce which Margaret so anxiously desired, and no sooner was it obtained than the royal matron hastened to wed her youthful lover, Henry Stuart, who was afterward created Lord Methven.

When Angus had attained the supreme power, which had been so long the object of his ambition, the use which he made of it was not corresponding to the sagacity he had displayed in the acquisition. He gave far greater attention to supporting and providing for his own friends and followers than to ruling the kingdom at large with justice and

equity; and his relations and clansmen felt so much their own license and impunity that it was currently said that, whatever complaints were brought respecting actions of theft, rapine, and slaughter, it was useless and dangerous to insist on them, if a Douglas or the dependent of a Douglas were one of the parties inculpated. And although the Earl of Angus and the lords of his faction made progresses through the country under pretence of administering justice, and putting down oppressors and murderers, "yet," says honest Pitscottie, "there were no greater homicides and felons to be found than those who rode in their own company."

The government of Angus, being that of a predominant family and faction, was not only universally complained of as unjust and oppressive by the country in which it was exercised, but became odious to the king also, in whose name and authority it was carried on. Angus, as we have already said, had at first conciliated the goodwill of the youthful king, by making himself the channel through which James received all the presents which Henry VIII. used occasionally to send to his nephew, and by carefully studying his taste, in order to anticipate and comply with his inclinations; but when the earl became established in his authority, he began to exercise it without regard to the wishes of the young monarch, and often in direct contradiction to them. In this Angus was guided by the councils of his brother Sir George, a man of a fiery and haughty temper, who preferred governing by fear and constraint rather than by fair means and flattery.

This order of things could not exist long without the king making some effort to free himself from a yoke which was at once galling and degrading; but such was the state of Scotland at that period, that the king's person was regarded as the symbol of the royal power; and while Angus could retain possession of James himself, he cared little whether or not he possessed the royal affections. The young king, however, determined in secret to escape from him at what-

ever risk, and entered into more than one plot for accomplishing his freedom.

The first of these attempts exploded at Melrose on the 25th of July, 1526. Angus had brought the king thither with the purpose of quelling some recent disturbances on the frontier; but on leaving the town, and approaching the bridge in his return, he was encountered by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, at the head of a thousand horse. His purpose being demanded, the chieftain replied that he came like other border men to show his followers to the king, and to invite him to his house. He added, that he knew the king's mind as well as Angus. A smart action immediately took place, in which the Scotts were defeated with the loss of eighty men; but many were also killed on the opposite side, in particular Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford, whose slaughter made a long and deadly feud between these two powerful clans.

It was generally suspected that the enterprise of Buccleuch had been instigated by Lennox, who, now retiring from the court, entered into a league with Chancellor Beaton, whom the predominance of Angus had nearly reduced to insignificance as a member of the administration, and to whom, of course, the power of the Douglases was obnoxious. The queen-mother seems also to have entered into the views of the party. Lennox, who was universally esteemed and beloved, raised a considerable army, and advanced toward Edinburgh from the westward. It is probable that Lennox was in hope of obtaining the support of the Earl of Arran on this occasion; he was Lennox's uncle, and the ancient rival of Angus. But their strife had been appeased since the battle of Cleanse the Causeway, and Arran drew out his forces in support of Angus, and not in opposition to him. He marched toward Lennox at the head of a body of men equal to that of the insurgents. The armies met: Lennox and his host arrived in the neighborhood of Kirkliston, and Angus rushed out from Edinburgh to support Arran. Sir George Douglas followed, bringing with him

the young king in person, and the citizens of Edinburgh. Observing the king's great unwillingness to proceed, as the noise of the artillery on both sides now apprised them that the conflict was hotly maintained, "I read your majesty's thoughts," said the stern Douglas; "but do not deceive yourself. If your enemies had hold of you on one side, and we on the other, we would tear you asunder, rather than quit our hold":—rash words, which the king never forgave.

On reaching the field of battle, they found the victory was with Angus. Lennox, after having been taken, was slain by Sir James Hamilton the Bastard, whose sanguinary temper has been already mentioned. Arran was mourning beside the dead body of his nephew, over which he had laid his scarlet cloak. "The best," he said, "the wisest, the bravest man in Scotland lies here slain."

The insurrection against Angus's government being thus a second time quelled, the chancellor, after lurking for some time among the hills in the disguise of a shepherd, was compelled to purchase peace by a copious distribution of ready money, and surrender of ecclesiastical benefices in favor of the prevailing party. The young king obtained by his intercession some favor for his mother; and the authority of Angus became more despotic, and was stronger than ever. This ambitious earl shortly after took upon himself the office of chancellor, and surrounded the king even more closely than before with his clients and dependents, whom James felt now tempted to regard as his jailers rather than his servants. Wherever he turned, his eye lighted on the dark complexion and vigilant eye of a Douglas. Douglas of Parkhead commanded a guard of one hundred men, rather to control the king's motions than to defend his person. His minister Angus never stirred from his presence, or if he did, he left him under the yet more stern custody of his brother, Sir George Douglas.

The young monarch was compelled to dissemble and appear satisfied with his situation, in order to disarm the

vigilance of those by whom he was thus closely watched. This device succeeded so well that the Douglases, conceiving the king to be altogether occupied with sylvan sports and amusements, lost a part of the jealousy with which they regarded his motions.

In the beginning of July, the king being at Falkland, his whole attention apparently engrossed by the sport of hunting, Angus took the opportunity to look after some of his private affairs in Lothian. George Douglas also left Falkland to settle the terms of some beneficial leases which he was to obtain from the bishop of Saint Andrew's. Archibald Douglas, the uncle of the Earl of Angus, left the court for Dundee, to pursue, it was said, an intrigue with a paramour; so that the custody of the king's person was confided to Douglas of Parkhead, with his bodyguard of a hundred gentlemen. The king saw the opportunity favorable for his escape. He appointed a particularly solemn hunting match for the next morning, and repeatedly commanded his guard to be in attendance at an early hour. But he had no sooner retired to rest than he assumed the dress of a yeoman, and getting to the stables unperceived, mounted with two attendants, whom he had taken into his confidence, and galloped to Stirling. The governor of the strong castle, which commands that town, received the prince with great joy, and assured him of his personal fidelity. But James's apprehensions of the Douglases were still so great, that, fatigued as he was with his long and midnight ride, he would not go to sleep until the keys of the castle were laid beneath his pillow, to insure that no one might enter without his knowledge or consent.

The Douglases early on the morrow perceived the flight of their royal captive, and anticipated the downfall of the power which they had so long enjoyed. They agreed, however, to ride in a body to Stirling, and put a bold face upon the matter. But when the king heard of their approach, he caused a solemn proclamation to be made, commanding that neither the Earl of Angus nor any of his kindred should ap-

proach within six miles of the king's person under the pain of high treason.

A parliament was thereafter assembled, in which Angus and his whole friends and dependents were summoned to answer for various abuses of the royal authority, and for keeping the king's person nearly two years under restraint. To defend themselves was impossible—to appear was to encounter ruin; the Earl of Angus and his followers, therefore, retreated into England, being secure of the mediation of Henry VIII. with his incensed nephew. Unfortunately, the earl did not deign to take this necessary step without offering some semblance of defending himself by arms. He garrisoned his castle of Tantallon, and taking the field with a gallant body of cavalry, seemed disposed to bid defiance to his youthful king, 1528. James hastened to lay siege to the castle; but it defied his forces. He was obliged to retreat from before it with dishonor; and Angus, attacking the rear of the royal army, added to the disgrace by killing one David Falconer, a favorite officer of James. It was in vain that the Earl of Angus showed much moderation, and forbore to seize on the royal train of artillery which were in his power. James remembered with deep resentment the wrongs which he had received, and felt no gratitude for those which his disobedient subject had refrained from inflicting. He swore in his anger that no Douglas should, while he lived and reigned, find favor or countenance in Scotland. It was pity that James V. should have in this manner bound himself up from exercising his prerogative of pardon; for, says one old historian, no friend of the Douglases, "I cannot find that the Earl of Angus, or any of that kindred, failed to the king in any part, since, although they were covetous, greedy, and oppressive of their neighbors, yet were they ever true, kind, and serviceable to the king in all his affairs, and ofttimes offered their persons to jeopardy for his sake."

The Earl of Angus, seeing the king so decidedly determined against him, ceased his unavailing resistance, and

retired with his brother and kinsman. Henry VIII. used much intercession in the earl's favor; but it was not until the death of James that the Douglases were restored to their native country of Scotland.

In the elevation of the House of Angus to eminent power, and in its fall, there was something which resembled the rise and declension of the original House of Douglas in the reign of James II. But the second course of events were far inferior in consequence to those of the earlier revolution. The power which the Earl of Angus possessed flowed from his wielding the king's authority and acting in the royal name. He was, it is true, an overgrown minister, who controlled the person and thwarted the inclinations of his sovereign; but still the power which he abused was that of a minister only, as appeared from the almost unresisted fall of the family as soon as they were deprived of the custody of the king's person. The last Earl of Douglas, on the contrary, had bid the king defiance in open rebellion; assembled an army as large as that of James II.; and there was no guessing to which side victory might have inclined, had the earl given the monarch battle as a rival for his throne.

The natural inference is, that since, with every advantage of a minority and a divided cabinet, with as much ambition and more talents than Douglas, Angus had neither been able to found his power so deeply or to raise it so high, the precautions taken by James II. for repealing grants of crown-lands, for prohibiting or limiting the erection of hereditary jurisdictions, and otherwise restricting the powers of the nobility, had taken a certain though slow effect, and that James V. possessed a degree of authority unknown to the Scottish princes before these restrictions undermined the power of the aristocracy.

The slaughter of Flodden, where twelve earls, thirteen lords, and the eldest sons of five noble families lay on the field, tended much to reduce the numbers of the Scottish aristocracy, and increase the power of the crown, to which many of their honors and estates reverted.

It is owing to the influence of these joint causes that James V. assumed a degree of self-agency, which, in the opinion of the Scottish nobles, the monarch was hardly entitled to; that, unlike his father James IV., he did not seem to court their regard or employ their service, but sought his companions among the gentry, and his counsellors among the clergy, without, for a length of time, experiencing any inconvenience from the discontent of those who claimed by birth the right to share his sports and participate in the exercise of his power.

CHAPTER XXIII

James V. chastises the Borders—Introduces Cultivation and good Order—Institutes the College of Justice—Short War with England—Friendship restored—James temporizes with Henry—Marries Magdalen of France—Her early Death—James weds Mary of Guise—Sentence of Lady Glamis—Burning of several Heretics—Sadler's Embassy—James's wise Government—His Faults—He is of a severe Temper, and addicted to Favoritism—His Expedition to the Scottish Isles—Character of Sir James Hamilton of Draphane, and his Execution—Death of the two infant Sons of James—Considered as Ominous—Severe Laws against Heresy—Critical Position of James on the approaching War between France and England—He offends Henry by disappointing him at the proposed Interview—War with England—Battle of Haddon Rig—The Scottish Nobles at Fala Muir refuse to advance with the King—Incursion on the West Border—Rout of Solway Moss—James V. dies of a Broken Heart

JAMES V. having, as mentioned in the last chapter, obtained the unlimited exercise of the royal authority, became desirous of reducing to order the formidable border men, who, under the Earl of Angus, had been permitted to indulge themselves uncontrolled in all kinds of violence. The king swept through the frontiers with a flying army, reducing the castles, and seizing upon the persons of those haughty chieftains, many of whom had no conception that the irregularities of which they and their people had been guilty were of a character to deserve the capital punishment of death, which was unsparingly executed upon them. John Armstrong of Gilnockie, Adam Scott of Tushielaw, called the King of the Border, and Piers Cockburn of Henderland, were among the border chiefs who perished on this memorable occasion. Having thus succeeded in quelling the authors of foreign strife and domestic disorder so effectually as to make "the bush of rushes keep the cow,"

James V. proceeded to occupy the crown lands, in the countries which had been so lately disturbed, with flocks and herds, the produce of which formed a large addition to his royal revenue on the borders.

After this signal infliction of punishment, it is boasted by a contemporary historian that the king had thirty thousand sheep pasturing in Ettricke Forest, and that his herdsman gave him as good an account of the produce, although in that disorderly district, as if they had gone within the bounds of Fife. Scotland seems to have enjoyed several years of such tranquillity as seldom occurs in the history of that distracted country. James, resenting the recollections of his sufferings under the tutelage of Angus, did not greatly use the services of his nobles, being disgusted with their ignorance and arrogance. He employed the talents of the clergy more freely; and they thus attained an influence over his mind which deterred him from joining the party of the reformers, to which he had originally shown some inclination.

In the year 1531, James V. gave to his country of Scotland the institution of the supreme court of council and session, which was framed in imitation of the parliament of Paris. Hitherto justice had been administered by standing committees of parliament, by whom the duty was irregularly and sometimes negligently discharged. These were now to give place to a court of professional persons, chosen with reference to their capacity for the high office, and having no occupation which might divert them from the administration of justice. The court possessed the supreme power of decision in all civil cases, and subsists to this day under the various alterations and improvements which the experience of three centuries has suggested. The number of the judges of the new court of session was fifteen, one half of them being laymen, and the others clergymen. The churchmen were taxed to defray the expense of the new establishment.

In 1533, a short and unimportant war broke out with

England. It was signalized only by mutual inroads on the frontiers, and ended by a peace between the royal uncle and nephew; after which James received from Henry the Order of the Garter. At this period Henry VIII., from motives well known in history, had renounced the papal sway, and became particularly anxious to induce his nephew to take a similar step. It is even said that, to purchase his compliance, Henry would have been contented that James should become the husband of his eldest daughter Mary, with other high advantages. He was pressing by his letters and messengers to have a personal interview appointed with his nephew, over whom he no doubt hoped to exercise that superiority which the powerful possesses over the comparatively weak sovereign, the rich over the poor, the aged over the young, and, as Henry doubtless supposed, the wise over the less strong-minded. But James, though desirous to be on good terms with his uncle, could not resolve upon imitating him in his scheme of throwing off the dominion of the Church of Rome. He had, indeed, listened with a smile to those lighter pieces of satire which reflected upon the personal character of the priests; a subject on which the Catholic Church has never manifested great irritability. But he was not prepared to resign any part of those doctrines which had been interwoven with his earliest ideas. The clergy, who were so useful to him in the course of his administration, had undoubtedly considerable influence in deterring him from following the courses of Henry. James also, though far from being wealthy, was so frugal as not to require for the support of his revenue the desperate measure of confiscating the church property. Finally, he felt that by joining with Henry in a step which all the princes of Europe held as impious and heretical, he must break off his friendly connection with France and every other power, to place himself wholly in the hands of the most haughty and imperious monarch then living. He procrastinated, therefore, and evaded the proposal for a meeting, well knowing that if such an appointment did not produce all the effects

which Henry desired and expected, it must necessarily destroy his amicable relations with England. These ties James desired to preserve in their present state, but did not wish to draw them closer.

The same reasons prevented the king from prosecuting the proposed match with the Princess Mary. Meantime his people anxiously desired that he should marry. Years rolled on, and James, the last of his line, was still single. His subjects were the more anxious on this point, as he often hazarded his person in private and nocturnal adventures, which he undertook sometimes to further the purposes of justice, and on other occasions from the love of enterprise and intrigue. A blow in a midnight brawl might have again reduced Scotland to the miserable condition of a people with whom the succession to the crown is disputed.

At length a treaty of marriage was concluded between the king of Scotland and Marie de Bourbon, a daughter of the Duke of Vendome, in 1536. James undertook a journey to France to fetch home his betrothed bride. But when he arrived in that kingdom he was dissatisfied with the choice of his ambassador, and Magdalen, the princess of France, was substituted for Marie de Bourbon. They were married in great splendor on the 1st of January, and embarked in the beginning of May for the port of Leith, in Scotland, where they were received with great rejoicings, which within forty days were to be turned into the signs of mourning, July 7, 1537. Magdalen, the young queen of Scotland, carried in her constitution the seeds of a hectic fever, which, within that brief space, removed her from her new kingdom and royal bridegroom. Her vacant place on the throne was soon afterward filled by Mary of Guise, the most celebrated queen of Scotland, excepting her daughter Mary Stewart, still more famed for beauty and misfortune. This lady bore to her husband two healthy male children, both of whom died within a few days of each other during James's lifetime. Mary, the third offspring of the marriage, beheld the light for the first time at the period of her father's death, 1541.

Throughout the whole of this reign the banished Douglases, from their place of exile in England, intrigued among the Scottish nobility, who saw with displeasure that the king preferred the assistance of the churchmen to theirs in the management of his political affairs. During the life of James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, the king used his approved talents in the administration; and at his death in 1539 he had called to his councils his nephew David Beaton, afterward cardinal and primate of Scotland. He was supposed to have been peculiarly connected with the following judicial proceedings: the son of Lord Forbes was accused of treason by the Earl of Huntley, tried by the court of justiciary, and suffered death. In like manner Jane Douglas, the sister of Angus, widow of the late Lord Glamis, mother of the youth who bore the title at the time, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneith, was, with her present husband, her son, and certain accomplices, accused of and tried for an attempt to hasten the king's death by the imaginary crime of witchcraft. For this offence Lady Glamis suffered death at the stake, on the castle hill of Edinburgh. She was much pitied on account of her noble birth, her distinguished grace and beauty, and the courage with which she endured her cruel punishment. The Scottish historians throw reflections upon James for giving vent to his resentment against the Douglases in the punishment of this lady: but her crimes appear to have been fully proved; and although the idea of taking away the life of others by acts of sorcery be now exploded, yet it is well known that in the Dark Ages the effect of the unhallowed rites was often accelerated by the administration of poison; not to mention that those who engaged in such a conspiracy were morally, though not actually, guilty of the crime of murder. The punishment of Lady Glamis by fire was cruel, doubtless; but the cruelty was that of the age, not of the sovereign. Her husband Campbell was killed by a fall in attempting an escape from the castle of Edinburgh in which he was a prisoner.

The same horrible mode of punishment undergone by Lady Glamis was, during James's reign, unsparingly applied to the restraint of heresy. In the year 1528 a young man of good birth, named Patrick Hamilton, the first person who introduced the doctrines of Luther's reformation into Scotland, sealed them by his violent death, which took place at St. Andrew's. The king, being then under the tutelage of the Douglases, cannot be charged with this act of cruelty; but the execution of seven persons, in the year 1539, attested his assent to these bloody and impolitic inflictions. It is, however, certain that, in permitting the established laws of the realm to have their course, James by no means appeared satisfied either with the frequent repetition of such exhibitions, or with the conduct of the churchmen themselves. He evinced in several particulars a bias favorable to the reformed doctrines; and his uncle Henry VIII., confiding in these hopeful indications, continued to entertain considerable hopes of drawing over his nephew to follow his own example.

Sir Ralph Sadler, a statesman of great talent, and no stranger to Scotland, was despatched with a present of some horses and the delicate task of prevailing on James to dismiss such of his ministers as were Catholic priests, especially Cardinal David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and of exhorting him at the same time to seize on the property of the Church, and to reform the morals of the churchmen by severe correction. The old proposal of a personal conference was again renewed. King James answered with mildness to the urgency of his uncle. He declared he would reform the abuses of the Church, but that he could not justly or conscientiously make these a pretext for seizing on its property, especially since the churchmen were willing to supply him with such sums of money as he from time to time required. The candor of Sadler owned to his master that the king of Scotland was obliged to make use of the clergy in the public service, owing to the ignorance and incapacity of his nobility.

During all these transactions the personal character of James V. appears in a favorable light. He did not indeed escape the charge of severity usually brought against princes who endeavor to restore the current of justice to its proper channel after it has been for some time interrupted. But his reign was distinguished by acts of personal intrepidity on the part of the sovereign, as well as by an economical and sage management of the revenues of the kingdom. James encouraged fisheries, wrought mines, cultivated waste lands, and understood and protected commerce. The palaces which he built are in a beautiful though singular style of architecture; and the productions of his mint, particularly that called the bonnet-piece, because it bears James's head surmounted by the national cap, is the most elegant specimen of gold coinage which the age affords. The sculptor of the die was probably some foreign medallist whom James had induced to settle in Scotland, and who died young. Had so excellent an artist lived for any considerable period he must have distinguished himself.

James, in proportion to his means, was liberal to foreign mechanics, by whose aid he hoped to encourage the arts among his ignorant people. The court of Scotland was gay, and filled with persons of accomplishment. Himself a poet, the king gave all liberal indulgence to the Muses, and does not seem to have resented the shafts of satire which were sometimes aimed against the royal gallantries or the royal parsimony.

With many virtues, James V. displayed few faults, but these were of a fatal character. We cannot reckon among them his unwillingness to receive a form of faith unknown to his fathers; but his rejection of the Reformation may be safely accounted among his misfortunes. The license which he gave to the vindictive persecution of the Protestants seems to have originated in that personal severity of temper already noticed. His inexorable hatred of the Douglases partakes of the same character. No recollection of early familiarity, no degree of personal merit, would induce him to extend any

favor to an individual of that detested name. His dislike to or contempt for his nobility led to his admitting favorites into his society, on whom his countenance was too exclusively conferred. Among these minions, the most distinguished was Oliver Sinclair, a youth of noble descent, but to whom the king too indiscriminately extended the favor which he withheld from men of eminent rank.

In the year 1540 James V. undertook an expedition truly worthy of a patriotic sovereign, making, with a strong fleet and a sufficient body of troops, a circumnavigation of his whole realm of Scotland, acquainting himself with the various islands, harbors, capes, currents, and tides. In the Hebrides he took hostages from the most turbulent chiefs for the quiet behavior of their clans, which bore in general the same denominations which they have at this day, as M'Donalds, M'Leods, M'Leans, M'Kenzies, and others. In this expedition the king showed to the most remote part of his dominions the presence of their sovereign in a position both willing and able to support the dignity of the crown and the due administration of justice, striking a salutary terror into those heads of clans who were unwilling to acknowledge a higher authority than their own. James sailed from Leith on this praiseworthy expedition about the 22d May, and landed at Dumbarton in the course of July, 1540, after a voyage which, in that early state of navigation, was not without its dangers.

We have repeatedly mentioned Sir James Hamilton as a man of determined courage, but of a blood-thirsty and remorseless disposition. He was a base-born son of the Earl of Arran, the same whose violence precipitated the skirmish called Cleanse the Causeway, and who slew the Earl of Lennox in cold blood after the battle, near Kirkliston, between Angus and his father. This man, usually called the Bastard of Arran, and sometimes Lord Evandale, at one time stood high in the favor of James V., and obtained the estates of Draphane, Finnart, and others. He owed this distinction partly perhaps to his well-known character for determined

courage, partly to a taste for architecture by which he was distinguished. The king seems to have used his talents in the rebuilding and ornamenting the palaces of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Falkland, in each of which may be remarked an elegant and highly ornamented style of architecture, being a mixture of the Gothic and Classical styles, like that which predominated in England in Elizabeth's reign. But having lost the king's favor when he advanced in years, Sir James Hamilton was accused of having entered into a conspiracy for restoring the Douglases (though his own hereditary enemies) by means of a plot on the king's life. For this he was convicted, and suffered death at Edinburgh, August 26, 1546. His accuser was a brother of Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr. It is said Sir James Hamilton had been a violent persecutor of the Protestant faith.

In 1541 James met with a great and poignant family affliction. The two male infants, borne to him by his wife Mary of Guise, were both cut off by sudden illness within a few days of each other. The Protestants recorded this as a judgment against the king for permitting the persecution of their faith, and their writers record an ominous dream of the king, in which the spectre of Sir James Hamilton appeared to James in the visions of the night, and striking off his two arms while he upbraided him with his cruelty, announced that he would speedily return and take his head. The superstition of Mary of Guise, a devoted daughter of the Church of Rome, took a different direction; and the king might perhaps agree with her and the priests in concluding that their family calamity arose from the vengeance of Heaven expressed against him for his slowness in extirpating heresy. At least, from the tenor of his measures at this time, such seems to have been his own interpretation of this severe visitation.

The statute-book at this period contains various severe denunciations against heresy. To argue against the pope's authority is declared punishable with death, and all discussion on the subject of religion is as far as possible prohibited.

Suspected heretics are declared incapable of exercising any office; nay, such as may even have abjured their errors of faith are still to remain excluded from conversation with Catholics. Fugitives for their religious opinions are held as condemned; all correspondence with them is prohibited, and rewards are offered for their discovery. These severe penal enactments sufficiently show the sense of Cardinal Beaton, their author, that the Protestant opinions were penetrating deeply into Scotland, and could in his opinion only be eradicated by the most active measures. But in proportion as the severity increased, the prohibited doctrines seemed to gain ground; and the Scottish clergymen saw no remedy except in the dangerous expedient of engaging James V. in a war with England, the monarch of which kingdom had led the way in the great northern schism of the Church.

The situation of James V. now became extremely critical. Whatever might be the king's own moderation, there seemed almost an impossibility of his remaining neutral while France and England were hastening to a rupture; and there were weighty reasons for dreading the consequences, whichever party he might embrace. If he became the close and inseparable ally of his uncle, he must comply with that impetuous prince in all his humors, alter the religious constitution of his country after the example of England, confiscate the possessions of the Church, to the prejudice of his own ideas of religion and justice, and discharge Beaton and other counsellors by whose experienced talents he had hitherto conducted his administration. He felt also that these sacrifices, which must necessarily cost him the esteem and the alliance both of France and of Germany, would be made for the chance of securing the doubtful friendship of an uncle who, amid all his professions of friendship, had constantly maintained within his kingdom the exiled family of Douglas, whom James not only peculiarly hated, but whom, from their extensive connections in Scotland, he had some reason to dread.

On the other hand, to refuse Henry's proffers of friend-

ship must expose the kingdom of Scotland to a misfortune similar to that of his father at Flodden; or, if he escaped such an overwhelming calamity, must give him still to fear the consequences of a war for which the disaffection of his nobles rendered him, notwithstanding all his own efforts to the contrary, very much unprepared. In its course it was likely to be the occasion of forming, under the patronage of the English monarch, a strong faction of malcontents in Scotland, partly united by the new views of religion which had been so generally adopted, and partly by alliance or intimacy on the part of some Scottish nobles, with Angus and the banished Douglases.

The king was warmly urged by a new embassy from Henry VIII. to come to a decisive conclusion on these difficult points, when, worn out by importunity, he gave a doubtful promise, that, if the affairs of his kingdom permitted, he would meet his uncle at York for the purpose of arranging an amicable settlement. Henry, who thought highly of his own arts of eloquence and persuasion, and who appears to have founded extravagant hopes on the influence which he might expect to gain by this personal interview, repaired to York, and remained there for six days, expecting the arrival of King James. The king of Scotland, however, aware that to meet Henry without being prepared to concede to him everything which he desired would only precipitate a rupture, excused himself for not attending upon the conference; and Henry returned to London, personally offended with James, and eagerly desirous of revenge. The chastisement of the king of Scotland became now as favorite an object with Henry as the conversion of James to his own opinions on religion and politics had previously been.

At length, in 1542, after a variety of petty incursions, the war broke out openly, and Sir Robert Bowes, with the banished Douglases, entered Scotland at the head of three thousand cavalry. They were encountered near Haddon Rig by the Earl of Huntley, to whom James had intrusted the defence of the border. The English were defeated, and left

their general and many inferior leaders prisoners in the hands of their enemies. Angus himself would have shared the same fate, but he rid himself of the knight who laid hands on him by employing his dagger.

James was highly encouraged by this fortunate commencement of the campaign, and made a donation of the lands of Hirsel to Sir Andrew Ker of Littledean, who brought him the first news of the victory. But he was now doomed to find that he had made shipwreck of his popularity in lending his countenance to the severities against the heretics, as they were termed, and in excluding from his favor the nobility of the kingdom. The presence of an English army under the Duke of Norfolk, which, entering the Scottish frontier, had burned the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh and nearly twenty villages, compelled him to summon an army to repel the invasion.

The Scottish king, therefore, assembled thirty thousand men, under their various feudal leaders, upon the Borough Moor, and marched from thence against the enemy. But as the Scottish army halted at Fala Muir, they received information that the English had retired to Berwick, and dismissed the greater part of their forces.

The Scottish nobles, on receiving this intelligence, united in declaring that the occasion of their service in arms was ended, signified their intention to attend the host no longer, and prepared to depart with their respective followers. The king was deeply grieved and irritated by this unexpected resolution. Henry had insulted him by the threat that he had still the same rod in keeping which had chastised his father. By that rod the Duke of Norfolk was intimated, who, while yet Earl of Surrey, commanded at Flodden, where James IV. fell. His son and successor highly resented this reference to his father's misfortunes; and now, when the duke was within a few miles' distance of him, and he himself at the head of an army numerous enough to second his desire of revenge, it was with peculiar pain that he saw himself deserted by his nobility, when he most desired

their cordial support. There was, however, no remedy: in a Scottish feudal camp the aristocracy were omnipotent, the king's power merely nominal; and to have urged the dispute to an open rupture would only have incurred the risk of reviving the scene of Lauder Bridge in James III.'s time. For the leaders began to whisper to each other that rather than indulge the king's humor for an impolitic war, they would hang up the evil counsellors who had suggested the idea to him. Rewarding, therefore, with heraldic honors John Scott of Thirlestane,[1] the only baron in that large host who offered to follow his banner, James dismissed his refractory army, when it was about to dismiss itself, and returned so deeply moved with shame and indignation that he not only lost his spirits, but his health was obviously affected.

The royal counsellors endeavored to find a remedy for James's wounded feelings by appointing another attempt to be made against England on the western border, the success of which might, they hoped, obliterate the recollection of the mutiny at Fala. The Lord Maxwell was appointed to command ten thousand men; but though Maxwell was himself a counsellor and favorite of the king, they were injudiciously composed of the followers of Cassilis, Glencairn, and other Westland nobles, among whom the Reformation had made considerable progress, and who were proportionably disgusted with the war, which they regarded as undertaken at the instigation and to serve the interest of the papal clergy. This may in part account for the extraordinary scene which followed.

In 1542 Maxwell's army had assembled, and advanced as far as the western border, when it was drawn up in order, and Oliver Sinclair was raised on a buckler for the purpose of reading the commission intrusting Lord Maxwell with the command of the army. The ill-timed introduction of this

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[1] He added the royal tressure to his arms, and assigned for his crest a bundle of spears with the motto "Ready, aye ready." Lord Napier is the representative of this family.

unpopular minion in a situation and duty so ostensible occasioned a belief that the commission which he read was in his own favor; and as this rumor gained ground a general confusion prevailed, and many, who did not choose to fight under the command of so unpopular a general, began to leave their ranks and return homeward. Dacres and Musgrave, two chiefs of the English borderers, who had come to watch the motions of the Scottish army, were witnesses of the strange and apparently causeless scene of confusion which it exhibited. Without knowing the cause, they took advantage of the effect, and charged with a degree of courage and determination which changed the confusion of the enemy into flight, and in many cases into surrender; for a great number of the chiefs and nobles chose rather to become the prisoners of the English leaders than to escape to their own country and meet the displeasure of their offended monarch. The whole Scottish force dispersed without stroke of sword, and the victors made many prisoners.

King James had advanced to the border, that he might earlier receive intelligence from the army. But when he learned the news of a rout so dishonorable as that of Solway, the honor of his kingdom and the reputation of his arms were, he thought, utterly and irredeemably lost, and his proud spirit refused to survive the humiliation. He removed from the border to Edinburgh, and from thence to Falkland, his deep melancholy still increasing and mixing itself with the secret springs of life. At length his powers of digestion totally failed. It was in this disconsolate condition that a messenger, who came to acquaint James V. that his queen, then at Linlithgow, was delivered of a daughter, found him to whom he brought the news. "Is it so?" said the expiring monarch, reflecting on the alliance which had placed the Stewart family on the throne; "then God's will be done. It came with a lass, and will go with a lass." With these words, presaging the extinction of his house, he made a signal of adieu to his followers and courtiers, and expired, December 14, 1542.

CHAPTER XXIV

Proposed Marriage between Mary of Scotland and Edward, Prince of Wales—The Earl of Arran Regent—An English Party formed—Henry VIII.'s Demands—Successful Intrigues of Cardinal Beaton—The Treaty with England broken—Incursions of the English—Battle of Ancram Moor—Martyrdom of Wisheart—Murder of Cardinal Beaton—Battle of Pinkie—Treaty of Marriage between Mary and the Dauphin of France—She is sent over into France—Arran is induced to resign the Government, and the Queen-Mother is declared Regent—Peace with England—The Queen-Regent's Partiality for France—Her Dissensions with the Scottish Nobles—Her Proposal for a standing Army is rejected—Progress of the Protestant Doctrines—Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's—Claim of Queen Mary to the Crown of England—Bold Answer of the Protestants to a Citation of the Queen-Regent—Death of five Commissioners sent to France—The Queen-Regent resolves to subdue the Protestants, who take Arms—Treaties of Accommodation are repeatedly broken—The Reformers destroy the Monastic Buildings—The Treaty of Perth violated, and the Protestants take Arms—They advance to Edinburgh—The Queen-Regent fortifies Leith—The Lords of the Congregation promulgate a Resolution that she has forfeited her Office of Regent

THUS was Scotland, by the death of an accomplished king, having only attained his thirty-first year, reduced once more to one of those long minorities which are the bane of her history, and which, in the present case, brought even more than the usual amount of misfortune.

The Scots, involved in a national war which had no national object, were, upon the decease of James V., willingly disposed to address Henry in a pacific tone, in which they reminded him that they now spoke in behalf of their infant

queen, his own near relation, who could have wronged no one, since she did not as yet know good from evil.

Henry VIII. is said to have evinced some kind feelings toward the memory of his unfortunate nephew: he shed a tear over James's fate, and imputed his errors to evil counsellors. Monarchs, however, have little leisure to indulge in sentimental sorrows. The king of England soon lost the recollection of his nephew's faults and merits in considering how the events which had happened could be rendered available to the increase of his own territories and authority. The road to the conquest of Scotland might, to a sanguine prince, appear to lie open; but it had been repeatedly attempted from the time of Severus downward, and had never been found practicable. The impetuous temper of Henry VIII. was, therefore, forced to stoop to the plan adopted by Edward I., ere the death of the Maid of Norway compelled his ambition to wear a sterner and more undisguised shape. A matrimonial alliance between the young heiress of Scotland and his son, afterward Edward VI., promised the English monarch all the advantages of conquest without either risk or odium. With this purpose he kept his eyes bent earnestly on the affairs of Scotland, to seize, as fast as they should occur, all means of furthering so desirable an object.

The government of the kingdom was claimed by the late Prime Minister, Cardinal Beaton, in virtue of a testament of the deceased king, which, however, was universally regarded as a forgery perpetrated by that ambitious churchman. He had, as before mentioned, succeeded his uncle, the turbulent archbishop of Glasgow, in James's councils, and was esteemed the author of most of the deceased king's unpopular measures, especially those in persecution of heresy. The nobles, who had no mind to perpetuate the power under which they had long groaned, unanimously rejected the claim, and preferred that of the Earl of Arran, representative of the House of Hamilton, and next heir to the Scottish crown, who was recognized accordingly as regent. Beaton was made prisoner by order of the regent, and detained in

a species of honorable captivity, to prevent his embroiling the new government by the intrigues of which he was master; and thus the Earl of Arran was placed at the head of affairs.

To this nobleman Henry addressed himself, March 15, 1542, for the purpose of accomplishing the matrimonial treaty which he had so much at heart. He did not neglect the obvious precaution of securing an interest and a party in the Scottish parliament. With this view the English ministers were directed to cultivate the intimacy of the various Scottish nobles and persons of rank who had been so strangely made prisoners at the rout of Solway Moss. Among these were the Earls of Cassilis and Glencairn, the Lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray. These nobles were dismissed free and without ransom by Henry VIII., upon their engaging to promote the views of that monarch by assisting in bringing about the desired alliance. Besides these, the English king had powerful auxiliaries in the banished Earl of Angus, and his brother Sir George, who returned to their native country, without waiting for a recall, as soon as the death of James V. was made public. Their forfeiture being instantly reversed in parliament, it became manifest that the displeasure of the king rather than the dread of the law had rendered them so long exiles. To these Douglases, indebted to him for protection and the means of support during an exile of fourteen years, the king of England communicated his purposes more fully than to the prisoners made at Solway, and by the means of both endeavored to form in the parliament of Scotland an English party, which might serve his interests more effectually than they could be advanced by force of arms. To this faction in the state was to be added the numerous men of influence who, being converts to the Protestant faith, were attached, on that account, to England, and held in abhorrence the power of France. But the temper of Henry was too impetuous to wait for the advantages which, with a little temper and patience, would certainly have arisen out of his own position toward Scot-

land, and the exertions of a numerous and powerful party, which was disposed to act unanimously in his behalf.

The king of England manifested the most eager and impetuous desire that the person of the infant queen should be delivered into his custody; and though it was represented to him that his proposal would certainly awaken the ancient jealousy which had so long subsisted between the kingdoms, it was with difficulty that he at last consented she should be suffered to remain in Scotland till she attained the age of ten years complete. Henry wasted so much time in these preliminary discussions that he lost the favorable moment in which the estates of Scotland were disposed to enter into terms with him concerning the marriage, and gave time for a politic adversary to recover the power of counteracting the whole project.

The adversary in question was Cardinal Beaton, who, as leader of the Roman Catholic party, and both in office and in talents head of the churchmen, was the devoted friend of France, and the no less determined enemy of England. While this intriguing priest was a prisoner of the regent, and while the rout at Solway and the death of James had overawed the minds of those nobles disposed to concur with him, Henry would have found little difficulty in accomplishing the matrimonial treaty which he meditated. But the moment the artful cardinal was free (having been liberated by the Lord Seton), his influence began to appear. By lavishing money, which his numerous Church preferments furnished in great store, by awakening all the ancient prejudices against England, and by dwelling on the imprudent tenacity with which Henry had clung to the rejected articles of the treaty, he contrived to unite a large and powerful body of the nobles, comprehending Argyle, Huntley, and Bothwell, in opposition to the English alliance. A great number of the barons, chiefly from jealousy of the national independence, joined the same party; and the regent himself, after showing a vacillation of temper which in a less serious matter would have been ludicrous, threw himself at last into the

arms of the cardinal, and, within eight days after he had ratified the marriage treaty, renounced the friendship of Henry and declared himself for the French interest. This change in Arran's politics was attended with a corresponding alteration in his religion, for he had hitherto pretended great respect for the doctrines of the Reformation, and now he consented to every measure proposed by the cardinal for its suppression.

Henry was not to be trifled with in this manner with impunity. Resentment at what he termed the Scottish breach of faith prompted him to a vindictive invasion by sea and land: a strong army, under the Earl of Hertford, was embarked in a numerous fleet. He took the Scots by surprise, landed in the Firth, plundered Edinburgh and the adjacent country, and thus destroyed for a time the English influence with the Scottish nobles. A series of destructive inroads on the frontier only added to the unpopularity of Henry with the people of Scotland.

Even Angus, the guest, pensioner, and brother-in-law of Henry by his marriage with the widowed queen of James IV., renounced the English monarch's friendship during the course of these ravages, and was distinguished by the share he took in an action by which they were in some degree revenged. The circumstances were these:

The ravages of the English during the campaign of 1554 were systematically conducted by Sir Ralph Ewers and Sir Brian Latoun, soldiers of great skill and activity, and wardens on the English marches. They cast down or burned a hundred and ninety-two towns, towers, bastle-houses, and parish churches, slew nearly a thousand Scots, and made upward of ten thousand captives. Ten thousand horned cattle, with twelve hundred horses, were but a part of the spoil made within three or four months. Many of the Scottish inhabitants of the western border, and the men of Liddisdale in particular, assumed from necessity a semblance of allegiance to England, and aided the invaders in these forays on Scotland.

To gratify the wardens for these achievements, the king of England conferred upon them in fief the two border counties of the Merse and Teviotdale, 1545. Sir Ralph, now Lord Ewers, and Sir Brian Latoun advanced to take saisin, as they said, of their new lordship, at the head of three thousand hired soldiers, paid by Henry, and two thousand borderers, the half of whom were Scots under English assurance. "I will write them an instrument of investiture with sharp pens and bloody ink," said the Earl of Angus, much of whose private estate was included in this liberal grant on the part of his royal brother-in-law. Accordingly, he urged the regent to pass hastily to the borders with such men as he had immediately around him, and put a stop to the dilapidation and dismemberment of the kingdom.

A small body of three hundred men was assembled, unequal, from their inferior number, to do more than observe the enemy, who moved forward with their full force from Jedburgh to Melrose, where they spoiled the splendid convent, in which lay the bones of many a heroic Douglas. The Scots were joined in the night by the Leslies and Lindesays, and other gentlemen from the western part of Fife; and apparently the English learned that the regent's forces were increasing, since they retreated toward Jedburgh at the break of day. The Scots followed, manœuvring to gain the flank of the enemy. They were joined, near the village of Maxton, by Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch with his followers, by whose knowledge of the ground and experience in irregular warfare the regent was counselled to simulate a retreat. The English halted, formed, and rushed hastily to pursue, so that, encountering the enemy unawares, and at disadvantage, they were totally defeated. The two leaders fell, and very many of their followers, for the victors showed little mercy; and the Liddisdale men, who had come with the English as friends, flung away the red crosses which they had brought to the battle, and made a pitiless slaughter among the troops whom they had joined as auxiliaries. Many prisoners were taken, on whom heavy ransoms were levied,

particularly on an alderman of London, named Read, whom Henry VIII. had obliged to serve in person in the wars, because he refused to pay his share of a benevolence imposed on the city, it appearing that though the king of England could not invade a citizen's property, he had despotic power sufficient to impress his person.

King Henry was greatly enraged at the loss of this action, and uttered threats against Angus, whom he accused of ingratitude. The Scottish earl little regarded his displeasure. "Is our brother," he said, "angry that I have avenged on Ralph Ewers the injury done to the tombs of my ancestors? They were better men than he, and I could in honor do no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the heights of Cairntable.[1] I can keep myself safe there against all the power of England."

Thus all the nobility of Scotland, even those most nearly connected with Henry, and who had been most indebted to his favor, were, by his impetuous and harsh mode of wooing, rendered averse to the match which he had set his heart upon, and which in itself they approved, and had been so lately willing to further by every means in their power. Nor was his loss of partisans in that country compensated even by the accident which removed from his path Cardinal Beaton, by whom it had been chiefly interrupted.

This statesman had not reached the summit of affairs without making many private enemies, as well as acquiring the hatred of those who considered him as the prime opponent of the Protestant Church, and author of the death of those revered characters who had suffered for heresy. A recent instance of this kind, perpetrated under Beaton's own eye, was marked with unusual atrocity. A Protestant preacher, named George Wisheart, born of a good family, and respected for eloquence, learning, and for a gentleness and sweetness of disposition which made him universally esteemed, had distinguished himself much by preaching the reformed doctrines. Even the regent declined to proceed

[1] Cairntable, a mountain in Douglas Dale.

against him, or to commission lay judges to sit upon his trial. The cardinal, however, having treacherously got his person into his hands, proceeded to arraign the prisoner of heresy before an ecclesiastical court, by whom he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to the stake. Beaton himself sat in state to behold the execution of the sentence from the walls of the castle of St. Andrew's, before which it took place.

When Wisheart came forth to die, and beheld the author of his misfortunes reposing in pomp upon the battlements to witness his torments, he said to those around, either from a conviction that the country would not long abide the cardinal's violence, or from that spirit of prescience said sometimes to inspire the words of those who are standing between time and eternity, "See yonder proud man: I tell you that in a brief space ye shall see him flung out on yonder ramparts with infamy and scorn equal to the pomp and dignity with which he now occupies it." The martyr died with the utmost patience and bravery, and it is probable his words did not fall to the ground.

Meantime the cardinal, conscious of the danger in which he stood in a country where men's swords did not wait the sanction of legal sentence to exact vengeance for real or supposed injuries, usually dwelt in the castle of St. Andrew's, which stood on a peninsula overhanging the sea, and was strongly fortified. There were workmen employed to repair and strengthen the defences of the place at the very time that a desperate and irritated enemy contrived the death of the bishop within its precincts. Norman Lesley, called Master of Rothes, nourished deep resentment against the cardinal for some private cause; and associating with him about fifteen men, who shared his sentiments for sundry reasons, they surprised the castle at the break of day, expelled the garrison, and murdered the object of their enmity with many circumstances of cruelty. Execrable as the action was in conclusion and execution, they were able to assemble about one hundred and fifty men to defend the deed they had

done, and defied all the forces which the regent could bring against them, until the French king sent to his assistance a body of auxiliaries, to whose superior skill the conspirators were compelled to surrender themselves, under promise of safety for their lives.

Even the death of Beaton, though his most inveterate political adversary, did not benefit the cause of Henry. The cardinal's place, both as primate and as counsellor of the regent, was supplied by a natural brother of the Earl of Arran, John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, who, from possessing a superior firmness of mind, exercised much influence over his brother, and was as devoted a friend to France and the Catholic cause as the murdered cardinal had been during his lifetime.

So stood the English interests in Scotland, which had been ruined by the impetuous rudeness of Henry VIII., when that monarch was summoned to answer for his stewardship before an awful tribunal. It seemed, however, as if his spirit continued to animate his late council board. In emulative prosecution of the war between England and Scotland, the Duke of Somerset, protector of England, entered the eastern marches at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, many of whom were mercenary bands from Spain and Italy, experienced in war, and peculiarly formidable when their skill, experience, and discipline were opposed to an enemy so irregular as the Scottish forces. The regent, however, assembled an army almost doubling in numbers that of the invaders, and assuming a defensive situation on the north side of the Esk above Musselburgh, placed the lord protector of England in considerable danger, since he could not advance without fighting at disadvantage, could not keep his ground for want of provisions, and must have experienced great difficulty in attempting a retreat. Prudence and delay would probably have placed the victory in the hands of the Scots. But the military testament of Robert Bruce was once more forgotten, and the Scots, with national impetuosity, abandoned the vantage ground, to

fight for the victory which time and patience would have given them without risk.

The English army occupied the crest of a sloping hill, on the southern side of the Esk, above Pinkie; that of Scotland, arranged in three large bodies, chiefly consisting of spearmen, having crossed the river, began slowly to ascend the acclivity. The English cavalry charged with fury on the foremost mass of spearmen; but were received so firmly by the Scottish phalanx that they were beaten off with considerable loss. It is said that this commencement of the battle appeared so ominous to Somerset that he called for guides, and was about to order a retreat. His secret rival, and, as he afterward proved, his mortal enemy, Dudley, earl of Warwick, entertained better hopes, and directly commenced a flank fire with the cannon of the army and the arquebuses of the foreign mercenaries on the thick body of spearmen. Angus, by whom the Scottish vanguard was commanded, endeavored to change his position to avoid the cannonade. About the same time some Highlanders of the second division had broken their order, to hasten to the spoil, so that their irregular appearance, with the retrograde movement of Angus, communicated a panic to the rest of the Scottish army, who thought they were routed. At this decisive moment the Earl of Warwick, who had rallied the English cavalry, brought them again to the charge, and introduced among the disordered forces of the Scots that terror which he had failed in producing upon these masses while they maintained their ranks. The numerous army of the Scots fled in total and irremediable confusion. Thus ended the battle of Pinkie, without either a long or bloody conflict. But the English horsemen, incensed at the check which they received in their first onset, pursued the chase almost to the gates of Edinburgh with unusual severity; and as many of the fugitives were drowned in the Esk, which was swelled with the tide, the loss of the Scots in the battle and flight amounted to ten thousand men. The whole space between the field of battle and the capital was strewed with dead

bodies, and with the weapons which the fugitives had thrown away in their flight.

Yet this great battle was followed by no corresponding effects; for the Duke of Somerset, having garrisoned and fortified the town of Haddington, and received the compulsory submission of some of the border chiefs, withdrew to England with his victorious army. On the other hand, the loss of the battle, as it threw the Scottish nation into despair, compelled them in a manner to seek the assistance of France. An assembly of nobles met at Stirling, when it was agreed that the efficient support of their ancient ally should be purchased by offering the hand of their young queen in marriage to the Dauphin of France. They consented voluntarily to place her person in the hands of Henry II., the father of her bridegroom, on condition that he would furnish the Scottish nation with immediate and powerful assistance to recover Haddington and such other places as the English had garrisoned, and to defend the rest of the kingdom in case of a repetition of the invasions. The liberal terms thus freely offered to France were the more surprising, as the estates of Scotland had recently shown insurmountable reluctance to place similar confidence in Henry VIII. But from the prejudices created by a thousand years of war, the Scottish and the English nations were inspired with a jealousy of each other which did not exist in either country against other foreigners.

Henry II. of France caught at so favorable an opportunity of acquiring a new kingdom for his son. Six thousand veteran troops, under Monsieur d'Essé, were instantly despatched to Scotland, and it was in the camp which they formed before Haddington that the articles of the royal marriage were finally adjusted. The queen-regent used the utmost of her art and address, and no woman of her time possessed more, in order to gain over the opinions of such as could be influenced, and intimidate those who could not be so won. The regent, Earl of Arran, was induced to consent by a grant from Henry II. to accept the French title

of Duke of Chatelherault, with a considerable pension from the same country. The opposition of meaner persons was silenced by very intelligible threats of violence from men that were extremely likely to keep their word; the fear of the French arms, among which they held their councils, imposed silence on others; and the person of the infant Queen Mary, suitably attended, was sent over to France by the same fleet which had escorted d'Essé and his troops to Scotland.[1] And thus, ere Mary knew what the word meant, she was bestowed in marriage upon a sickly and silly boy, a lot which might be said to begin her calamities.

The queen-dowager having perfected this great match in favor of the king of France, her kinsman, became naturally desirous of obtaining the interim administration of Scotland until her daughter should attain the years of discretion. For this purpose she dealt with the indolent and indecisive Earl of Arran for a cession of the regency. An augmented pension from France, high honors to himself and his friends, were liberally promised, together with a public acknowledgment of his right as next heir to the Scottish throne. On the contrary, the threat of a minute inquiry into his legitimacy, which was not beyond question, a severe investigation of his management while regent, the ill-will of the queen and her party in the state, were arguments which shook his resolution. He acquiesced in the terms proposed; and though afterward he retracted, upon the upbraidings of his brother the primate, who irreverently exclaimed against the meanness that would resign the government when nothing stood between him and the crown but the life of a puling girl, he finally made the sacrifice required of him, and aware, perhaps, of his own unpopularity, resigned to the superior firmness of Mary of Guise the regency of Scotland.

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[1] Knox, the stern apostle of Protestantism, says that "some were corrupted with *buds* (bribes), some deceived with flattering promises, and some for fear were compelled to consent, for the French soldiers were officers of arms in that parliament. The Lord of Buccleuch, a bloody man, with many G—d's wounds, said that they that did not assent should do worse."—History of the Reformation, 1644.

In this capacity the queen-mother showed vigor and determination. With the assistance of d'Essé's French troops, she retook Haddington from the English, and drove out other petty garrisons which they had established after the battle of Pinkie. This warfare, though the actions were on a small scale, was uncommonly sanguinary. Many of the English officers had committed insolencies and atrocities during their hour of success which the Scots could not forgive; and not only did the latter themselves refuse quarter to the English, but there were instances of their purchasing English prisoners from the French, merely, like Indian savages, to have the pleasure of putting them to death. To such a height of animosity had mutual ravages and constant injuries heated the national resentment of two countries, which, save for an imaginary line of boundary, were in fact the same people.

The victory of Pinkie thus had no more effectual consequences in favor of England than those which had followed former defeats of the Scottish armies, and it furnished an additional proof, that while it was easy to inflict deep injuries upon Scotland, it seemed difficult or impossible absolutely to subdue the country. After so much expenditure of blood and treasure, the Scots were included in a peace between France and England, which, amid civil discord and party faction, the Duke of Warwick, now at the head of English affairs, was glad to accede to.

The queen-regent of Scotland, in her new acquisition of power, had one great disadvantage. She was a Frenchwoman; and while she was in truth desirous of serving her country and sovereign, she found it very difficult to convince the people of Scotland that she was not willing to sacrifice the interests of the country which she ruled to that of which she was the native. The auxiliary army of d'Essé did not leave Scotland without a renewal of the hostile disposition which had on former occasions arisen between the French troops and the Scots, to whose assistance they had been sent. The rudeness, poverty, and haughty ignorance

of the Scots took offence at the airs of superiority assumed by the brave and polished, but arrogant and petulant French. This had been the case in John de Vienne's time. But a large part of the Scottish nation had now additional reasons for disliking the auxiliary forces of d'Essé: they hated them not only as foreigners, but as papists. A brawl, arising out of a contention between a gunsmith of Edinburgh and a French soldier, about a culverin, ended in an open riot, to which both parties were previously well disposed. The Scots and French fought in the streets of Edinburgh, in which skirmish the lord provost of the town and the governor of the castle were both slain. Peace was restored with the utmost difficulty; but their having been guilty of such an insult in the capital of their ally added greatly to the growing unpopularity of the auxiliaries.

Although these ominous occurrences ought to have put the queen-regent on her guard against appearing to act by the advice of foreigners, and although the example of the Duke of Albany and the fate of the Sieur de la Bastie might have made her aware of the antipathy of the Scots to the rule of strangers, she did not hesitate to confer on Frenchmen situations of trust and dignity in the Scottish state, and to use their advice in her councils. These new statesmen, better acquainted with the constitution and politics of France than those of Scotland, advised the queen to find means of supporting her government, by laying upon the landed proprietors taxes sufficient to maintain a standing army, and placing garrisons in the principal fortresses of the kingdom, of which, either by hereditary right or by grants from the crown, the nobility were the guardians. This proposal of the queen, made according to the advice of her French advisers, was in the highest degree unpalatable. The poverty of the nation was alarmed at the prospect of a land tax, and its pride at the supposition that the defence of the country could be better secured by intrusting it to mercenaries rather than to the children of the soil. As an experiment, the queen-regent requested the Earl of Angus's consent to put

a French garrison into his castle of Tantallon. On hearing this proposal, the earl answered in words intended to apply to the queen, but directed to a hawk which sat on his fist, and which he was feeding at the time, "The devil is in the greedy kite; she will never be satisfied." But more directly and pointedly pressed on the subject, he said, "Tantallon is at your majesty's command as regent of the kingdom; but, by Saint Bride of Douglas, I must remain castellan of the fortress for your behoof, and I will keep it better for you than any foreigners whom you could place there."

When the plan of raising mercenary troops was proposed in parliament, about three hundred of the lesser barons came before the queen in a body, and asserted that they were as able to defend their country as their fathers had been, and that they would not permit the sacred task, which was the most honorable part of their birthright, to be transferred to mercenaries and strangers. The queen-regent, therefore, saw herself compelled to abandon her proposal.

The defeat of this scheme, which involved the embryo purpose of a standing army, was not more mortifying than the failure of another, by which Mary of Guise, out of a natural affection to her nation, hoped to serve the interests of France, now engaged in war with Spain and England, by embroiling Scotland in the quarrel. But although she contrived without much trouble to effect a breach of the peace between two countries which were equally jealous and irritable, yet the Scottish nation, taught by experience, entered into the contest as a defensive war only; neither could the urgency of le Crocq, who commanded the French troops, nor the entreaties of the queen-regent, prevail on them to set a foot on English ground.

Meanwhile, in 1558, the marriage of the young queen of Scots was solemnly celebrated, and that union between France and Scotland achieved, so far as depended upon the execution of the marriage treaty. But by this time the subject of religion had become so interesting as to have greater weight in the scale of national policy than at any former period.

Thirty years had elapsed since the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton for heresy; and during that period the Protestant doctrines, obvious as they were to the most ordinary capacities, had risen into that estimation which sense and firmness will always ultimately attain over craft and hypocrisy. They were promulgated by many daring preachers, who, with rude but ready eloquence, averred the truths which they were ready to seal with their blood. Among these, the most eminent was John Knox, a man of a fearless heart and a fluent eloquence; violent, indeed, and sometimes coarse, but the better fitted to obtain influence in a coarse and turbulent age—capable at once of reasoning with the wiser nobility, and inspiring with his own spirit and zeal the fierce populace. Toleration, and that species of candor which makes allowance for the prejudices of birth or situation, were unknown to his uncompromising mind; and this deficiency made him the more fit to play the distinguished part to which he was called. It was not alone the recluse and the solitary student that listened to these theological discussions. Men of the world, and those engaged in the affairs of life, lent an attentive ear to arguments against the doctrines of Rome, and declamations exposing their ambition, pride, and sensuality. The burgher and the peasant were encouraged to appeal to the Word of God itself from those who called themselves his ministers, and each was taught to assume the right of judging for himself in matters of conscience, and at the same time encouraged to resist the rapacity with which church dues were exacted in the course of life, and even in the hour of death. The impoverished noble learned to consider that the right of the Church to one-half at least of the whole land of Scotland was a usurpation over the lay proprietor; and the prospect of a new road to heaven was not the less pleasing that it promised, if trod courageously, to lie through paths of profit upon earth. The older generation had listened but slowly and unwillingly to a creed which shocked the feelings of awe and reverence for the practices of worship in which they had been educated; but the younger,

who had risen into life while the discussions were common and familiar topics, embraced the reformed doctrines with equal zeal and avidity.

Since the death of Cardinal Beaton, there had been no attempt to turn the force of the existing laws against the growth of heresy. Hamilton, the archbishop of Saint Andrew's, though said to lead a life too irregular for a churchman, was more gentle and moderate than his predecessor, Beaton; and the queen-mother was too prudent, and too well acquainted with the state of Scotland and the temper of the people, to engage of her own accord in a struggle with so powerful a sect as the reformers, who now assumed the name of the Congregation. But when her daughter became queen of France, the celebrated Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine urged upon their sister the regent the absolute duty and necessity of rooting out the Scottish heresy. For this they had more reasons than mere zeal for the Catholic religion, though theirs was of the warmest temperature.

Mary of England was now dead; and the land, which had relapsed into popery at her accession, had again adopted the Protestant faith under her sister Elizabeth. The Catholics were not disposed to consider this great princess as a legitimate sovereign, but rather as the adulterous daughter of Henry VIII. by Anne Boleyne, his concubine, for whose sake he had broken the bonds of matrimony with Queen Catherine, and cast away the filial obedience due to the see of Rome. Failing Elizabeth, Mary, queen of Scotland, was heir of England in right of her grandmother Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. In the eyes of all true Catholics, she had not only a contingent, but an immediate claim to succeed her namesake in the government. This title offered the most splendid visions to the two brothers of the House of Guise, who aimed at nothing less than subjecting England itself to the sway of their niece by means of the English Catholics, a numerous and powerful body. But this could only be accomplished by gaining for the Scottish queen

the credit of a faithful nursing-mother of the Church, in destroying that branch of the great northern heresy which had raised its head in the kingdom of Scotland. She could not, with consistency, claim the character of a sound Catholic, a person likely to re-establish Catholicism in England, while the exercise of the reformed religion was publicly permitted in the realm which was properly her own.

Mary's mother, the queen-regent, was, therefore, against her better judgment, urged to pick a quarrel with the reformers in Scotland, and she involved herself by the attempt in a train of consequences which poisoned all the future tranquillity of her regency and her life. The pretext was taken from some insults offered by the Protestants to the images of the Catholic faith, and particularly to Saint Giles, patron of the metropolis, whose effigy was first thrown into the North Loch, and then burned. To chastise this insolence, various among the most noted popular preachers were summoned to appear before the queen-regent and the bishops, and to undergo their trial as authors of the sedition. The preachers resolved to attend; and, that they might do so with safety, they availed themselves of a custom in Scotland (a right barbarous one), by which a person accused was wont to appear at the bar with as many friends as were willing to stand by him and defend his cause. The time was propitious; for a band of western gentlemen, zealous Protestants, were returning homeward from military services on the border, and willingly appeared in arms for the protection of their pastors. They were in vain charged by proclamation to depart from the city. On the contrary, they assembled themselves, and with little reverence forced themselves into the queen's presence, then sitting in council with the bishops.

Chalmers of Gadgirth, a bold and zealous man, spoke in the name of the rest—"Madam, we know that this proclamation is a device of the bishops and of that bastard (the primate of Saint Andrew's) that stands beside you. We avow to God that ere we yield we will make a day of it.

These idle drones oppress us and our tenants, and now they seek the lives of our ministers, and our own. Shall we suffer this any longer? No, madam, it shall not be." As he concluded, every man put on his steel bonnet. The queen-regent was compelled to have recourse to fair words and entreaties, for little less was to be apprehended than the present massacre of the Roman Catholic churchmen. But by the queen's discharging the proclamation, and using gentle and kind words to Gadgirth and his companions, the danger was averted for the present.

The Scottish Protestants saw their advantage and were encouraged to further boldness. They made a popular tumult by attacking a procession of churchmen which paraded through the streets of the city. The images, which the insurgents termed Dagon and Bel, were dashed to pieces in contempt and derision; as for the churchmen, we may take John Knox's word, "that there was a sudden affray among them; for down goeth the crosses, off goeth the surplices, round caps, and cornets with the crowns: the grayfriars gaped, the blackfriars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he who first got to the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of antichrist within the realm before." This was the wild proceeding of a rabble; but an association and bond was immediately afterward entered into by the principal persons of the congregation, to defend their ministers, and assert the rights of hearing and preaching the Gospel. This avowal of faith, with an express determination to renounce the Catholic doctrines as delusions of Satan, was subscribed by many men of power and influence. The same leading Protestants, now called the "Lords of the Congregation," were also repeated petitioners to the queen-regent for some express legal protection; but, averse to place the new faith on so permanent a footing, she was liberal in promising such countenance from her own authority as should render a formal toleration unnecessary. An application to the convocation of popish clergy for some relaxation of the laws

against heresy was, as might have been expected, refused by the churchmen with contempt.

A circumstance happened at this time which tended greatly to increase the suspicion with which the Scots regarded the House of Guise. Eight distinguished members had been sent from the Scottish parliament to witness the marriage ceremony between the dauphin of France and the young queen of Scotland. Four of these, by a singular coincidence, happened to die about the same time. The suspicious credulity of the age immediately imputed their death to poison, given, as was supposed, to facilitate the execution of some plan formed by the French statesmen against the independence of Scotland. As there existed no motive for such a crime, and no proof that it had taken place, and as the bishop of Orkney, a friend of the queen-regent, was one of the persons who died, the suspicion appears on the whole to have been unjust, and to have had no other foundation than the popular desire to assign extraordinary causes for uncommon events. But it was in the meantime highly calculated to place the queen-regent in a disadvantageous point of view to a great part of the subjects of Scotland.

Mary of Guise's government continued to be still further embarrassed by the zeal with which her brothers of Lorraine continued to press in the most urgent manner the adoption of violent measures against the Protestants. In compliance with instructions from France, the queen, forgetful of the violent scene with Chalmers of Gadgirth, again summoned the Protestant preachers to appear before a court of justice to be held at Stirling on the 10th May, 1559. Again the zeal of the congregation convoked a species of insurrectionary army to protect their ministers, which assembled at Perth, then animated by the preachings of John Knox. The queen-regent foresaw the danger which impended, and a second time appeared to retreat from her purpose, and engaged to put a stop to the prosecution of the ministers.

Through the whole eventful scene the subtlety of the

queen-dowager made it manifest that she adopted and acted upon the fatal maxim of the Church of Rome, that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The Protestants had no sooner dispersed their levies than the queen caused the actions against their preachers to be anew insisted on; and upon the non-appearance of the parties cited, sentence of outlawry was pronounced against them.

The Protestants were incensed by this duplicity of the queen; and after a vehement discourse by John Knox against the idolatry of the popish worship, and a casual brawl which followed between an impudent priest and a petulant boy, the minds of the auditors were so much inflamed that they destroyed, first the church in which the sermon had been preached, and then the other churches and monasteries of Perth, breaking to fragments the ornaments and images, and pillaging the supplies of provisions which the monks had provided in great quantity.

The queen in the meantime had drawn together her French soldiery, and, still more deeply irritated by the late proceedings of the multitude, prepared to march upon Stirling, and from thence to Perth, before the lords of the congregation could assemble their vassals. But she had to deal with prudent and active men, who were not willing a second time to be cheated into terms which might be kept or broken at the regent's pleasure. They assembled their forces so speedily that they could with confidence face Mary of Guise and her army, though above seven thousand strong. Still the principal Protestant nobles thought it best to come to an agreement with the queen-regent, rather than hurry the nation into a civil war. They agreed to admit Mary of Guise into Perth, on condition that her French troops should not approach within three miles of the city; that no one should be prosecuted on account of the recent disturbances; and that all matters in debate between the government and the lords of the congregation should be left to the consideration of parliament. No sooner, however, had this treaty been adjusted than the queen broke its conditions, by dis-

placing the magistrates of Perth, and garrisoning the town with six hundred men. She endeavored to palliate this breach of faith by alleging that these troops did not consist of native Frenchmen, but of Scotsmen under French pay. Far from receiving this evasion as a good argument, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart retired to Saint Andrew's, and were there met by the Earl of Monteith, the Laird of Tulliebardine, and other professors of their religion. Although in an archiepiscopal see, and threatened by the primate, that, if he ventured to ascend his pulpit, he should be saluted with a shower of musket-balls, John Knox boldly preached before the congregation, and animated their resolution of defending their freedom of conscience. As it appeared plain that the violation of the treaty of Perth would once more put the lords of the congregation in arms, the queen on her part endeavored to seize an advantage by superior alacrity. She was again disappointed, although she early put her troops, now amounting to about three thousand men in the pay of France, into motion against Saint Andrew's, whither the principal reformers had retreated.

The lords of the congregation boldly determined to meet the queen-mother in the field; and though they set out from St. Andrew's with only one hundred horse, yet ere they had marched ten miles they were joined by such numbers as enabled them to remonstrate with the queen, rather than to petition for indemnity. Mary of Guise again resorted to the duplicity with which she was but too familiar. She obtained a pacification, but it was only on the condition that she should transport her French soldiery to the southern side of the Firth; and she agreed to send commissioners to St. Andrew's to settle on conditions of peace. The Frenchmen were accordingly withdrawn for the time; but, with her usual insincerity, the queen altogether neglected to send the commissioners, or take any steps for the establishment of a solid composition.

The consequences were, that the congregation resumed

arms a third time, and forcibly occupied Perth. From thence they advanced in triumph to the capital, the people, particularly the citizens of the burghs which they occupied, eagerly seconding them in the work of reformation; especially in the destruction of monasteries and the defacing the churches, by destroying what they considered the peculiar objects of Roman Catholic worship. The queen gave way to the torrent, and retreated to Dunbar, to await till want of money and of provisions should oblige the lords of the congregation to disperse their forces.

This period was not long in arriving. The troops of these barons consisted entirely of their vassals, serving at their own expense. When the provisions they brought with them to the camp (which never at the utmost exceeded food for the space of forty days) were expended, they had no means of keeping the field, and considered the campaign as ended. The burghers had their callings to pursue, and, however zealous for religion, were under the necessity of returning to their own residences when days and weeks began to elapse. These causes so soon diminished the army of the congregation, that the queen-regent, advancing with her compact body of mercenary troops, might have taken Edinburgh by storm, had it not been for a third treaty, patched up indeed, and acceptable to neither party, but which each was willing to receive for a time, rather than precipitate the final struggle. The articles of convention were, that the lords of the congregation should evacuate Edinburgh, to which the queen-regent should return, but that she should not introduce a French garrison there. The Protestants agreed to abstain from future violation of religious houses; while the queen consented to authorize the free exercise of the Protestant religion all over the kingdom, and to allow that in Edinburgh no other should be openly professed. These terms were reluctantly assented to on both sides. The Protestants were desirous that the French troops, the principal support of the queen-regent's power, should be removed out of the kingdom; while Mary of Guise, on the

other hand, was secretly determined to augment their number, and place them in a commanding position.

She was the rather determined on following the violent policy suggested by the brothers of Guise, because the death of Henry II. and the accession of Francis and Mary to the throne had rendered the queen's uncles all-powerful at the court of France.

A thousand additional soldiers having arrived from France, the queen-regent, in conformity with the policy which she had adopted, employed them in fortifying as a place of arms the seaport of Leith. The lords of the congregation remonstrated against this measure; but their interference was not attended to. On the contrary, the queen-regent, influenced by the dangerous counsel of her brothers, the princes of Lorraine, shut herself up in the newly-fortified town, and haughtily disputed the right of the nobility to challenge her prerogative to establish her residence where she would, and to secure it by military defences when she thought proper.

The civil rights of the Scottish nation, as well as their religious liberties, were now involved in the debate; and the lords of the congregation were joined by the Duke of Chatelherault, and other noblemen who continued Catholics. Both parties, having convoked an assembly as numerous and powerful as a Scottish parliament, united in the decisive step of passing an act by which, under deep professions of duty to the king and queen, they solemnly deprived the queen-regent of her office, as having been exercised inconsistently with the liberties, and contrary to the laws, of the kingdom.

Among the nobles who thus lifted the banner of defiance against the highest established authority of the kingdom, the chief was Lord James Stewart, called at this time the prior of St. Andrew's, a natural son of King James V., and a brother, consequently, of the reigning queen. If it had so chanced that this eminent person had possessed a legitimate title to the crown of Scotland, it would probably have been worn by him with much splendor. As it was, he was thrown

into circumstances in which, as we shall see, high ambition, encouraged by tempting opportunity, proved too strong for the ties of gratitude and family affection, and ultimately brought a man of great talents and many virtues to an early and a bloody grave. His strong mind had early received with conviction the reformed doctrines, and he was distinguished among the Protestant lords by his zeal, sagacity, and courage; so that though the Earl of Arran (Duke of Chatelherault, and formerly regent), had again returned to the side of the lords of the congregation, and was complimented with the title of chief of their league, yet the general confidence of the party was reposed in the wisdom, courage, and integrity of the prior of St. Andrew's. Argyle, Glencairn, and others, the associates of this distinguished person, were, like himself, men of courage and sagacity, and full of that species of enthusiasm which is inspired by an enlarged sphere of thought and action, and by the sense of having thrown off the fetters of ecclesiastical bondage.

END OF VOLUME ONE